

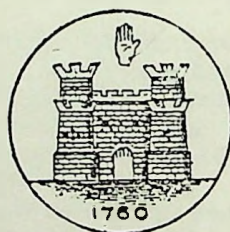
History of Dungannon

The Seat of the O'Neills
AND
Town of the Volunteers

*With Appendixes of the Dungannon Depositions
of 1641: complete List of Members of Parliament
for the Borough, with Biographical Notes; and
Bibliography of Dungannon Printing.*

By JOHN J. MARSHALL,

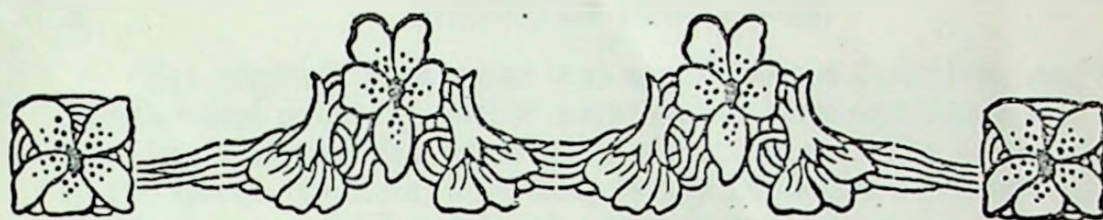
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etc., etc.*



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HISTORY OF DUNGANNON

The Seat of the O'Neills

AND

TOWN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the name ; Genann, friend of Cuculain ; the Knights of the Red Branch ; the coming of the O'Neills.

Ulster possesses many historic towns that enshrine in their annals stories of love, of war, and of human passion—Armagh, the ancient, hallowed by St. Patrick's sainted footsteps, Derry the heroic and Enniskillen the valiant. Among these Dungannon has its own peculiar place, linking as it does the last stand of Celtic rule with the dawn of modern freedom.

In that dim twilight of history, where tradition mingles with authentic fact the name of Dungannon emerges as the residence of Genann—Dun Genánn, or Gannon's Dun. A Dun was the residence of a king or chief, and consisted of a circular raised mound, either natural or artificial. According to the Brehon law it should have at least two surrounding walls or mounds, with a deep trench between filled with water, and outside these possibly a strong palisade of stakes for greater security. Round the great Duns or residences of these important personages were grouped the timber dwellings of the *fudirs* and other dependents who were not of the immediate household, forming a kind of village. Immediately outside the door of the rath or dun was an ornamental lawn ; beyond this a large level sward (*faitche*, pronounced *faha*) for athletic exercises and games of various kinds.

The original Duncannon was somewhat as described, and had another and probably earlier name—Dun Cain—pleasant fort, before the overshadowing personality of Genánn gave the present name to the town. Genánn, according to the Dinsenchus was the son of Cathbad, surnamed Iarn-glunah (Iron-knee), whose residence was in Glen-na-mónar¹⁹⁶ (the dog's glen). Cathbad was chief Druid and counsellor to Conor Mac Nessa, High King of Ulster, and was also a mighty wizard.

His son was named " the sunny faced Genánn," and also Genánn Glunmar—swift knee. In Ulster idiom, " soople," swift, flexible expresses the meaning better than literary English. Genánn, was the school companion and close friend of Cuculain, and like him too, one of the famous knights of the Red Branch, having their headquarters at Crieve Roe, adjoining the Royal residence of Emain Macha, whose remains are known as the Navan Ring, situated a short distance from Armagh on the western side.

The period about the beginning of the first century—Ireland's heroic age, and the ear attuned can still catch adown the centuries the jingle of harness and the clash of brazen shields, mingling with the war chaunt of heroes as in their chariots they are borne to battle. What mighty names are amongst their thundering ranks ? Cuculain mightest of the champions of the Red Branch, who has been raised by tradition to the rank of demi-god ; the chivalrous and princely Fergus MacRoy ; Leary Buadach (the victorious) ; Kilkar the great, son of Uther, his broad breast hidden by the Comla Catha (Gate of Battle) ; Condera of the Dark Red Shield ; Conell Carna, and many more renowned in chronicle and song, the flower of Ulster, when, in that warlike age the swelling might of the Clanna Rury rolled over and shed itself with a noise of battle, and the shining of heroic deeds that still send their shadowy gleam adown the ages from the misty past.

The pride of Ulster's chivalry were the comrades of Genánn who had his residence on this lofty hill commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. Eastward, the great lough with its legend haunted waters stretched far away. To the south the fertile plain of Moy, and like a silver thread, the bright way where, from his fountains the Avonmore (Blackwater) sought Lough Neagh. It was indeed a goodly prospect that met the eye from Genánn's Dun :—

" Here was a glorious tower, and there a proud hero dwelt—
The sun loved to light the spear that leaped from the hand of the
Celt."

Such the proud associations of Duncannon, where Cuculain, Ulster's hero champion, may have oftimes visited his friend Genánn, travelling over from Crieve Roe in his shining war chariot drawn by

his famous steeds, Liath (grey) Macha and Black Sanglan. "Gigantic they are in stature and for beauty, like those weird horses, which they say in the sacred mountains are seen at night grazing beside some fairy lough. The chariot was worthy of these giant war horses, having wheels of burnished brass, and the revolving spokes send forth fiery flashes. The body is green, and the pole ornamented with bands of silver and where it is made fast to the yoke there is shining gold."

When the end of Ulster's great hero was drawing nigh, it was his school boy friend and comrade of later years who was sent with a company of the standing battalion to meet and conduct in safety Cuculair to Emain Macha, for he was menaced by the machinations of the wizard clan Cailitin. In the banqueting hall Cuculain sat in his place in the Champion's throne, and there too was Genánn "of the lightsome countenance," very dear he was to Cuculain, and he sat next to the champion. Both Cathbad and Genánn exercised all their magic powers for the protection of the Ulster hero, but without avail, for their power was broken by the enchantments of the children of Cailitin. So Cuculain, in his chariot driven by Láeg, son of Riangowa, travelled south till he came to the plain of Murthemney (Co. Louth), where he rallied the flying, scattered battalions, of the Red Branch, and led them once more against the hosts of Meave, by whom, after eight days of heroic fighting, they were at last overwhelmed and Cuculain himself wounded unto death.

Whether Genánn fell in the fight, or lived to join the Ulidian host that returned from Alba and exacted a bloody eric on the other three provinces in "The Rout of Conell Carna," history is silent and tradition dumb. Yet what a host of glowing memories still remain of Genánn's time; pagan traditions with the tramp of heroes in them to fill and delight the imagination. At the head of the Red Branch heroes Conor himself, ablest of the Irian kings, with his spear and sword, Flight and Victory, and his still more famous shield, Ocean, with the blue chased waves around its rim that roared when its bearer was in danger, and the 'three waves of Erin' roared responsive.

"Moaned each sea-chafed promontory, soared and wailed white
Cleena's wave,

Rose the Tonn of Inver Rory, and through columned chasm and cave;
Reaching deep with roll of anger, till Dunseverick's dungeons reel'd,
Roared responsive to the clangour struck from Conor's magic shield."

The age of paladins with its flashing glories grows dim and wanes, and as the deep heroic note fails a new cycle arises, in which veritable history remains silent and the name of Dungannon slumbers for

centuries, until the princely O'Neills made it their home and seat of government.

In the earlier centuries of the Christian era the Hy Niall princes of Ulster had their residence at Aileach, in the peninsula of Inishowen north-west of Derry, and that place continued to be their chief abode till the twelfth century. It is recorded that Patrick went to Aileach of the Kings, and blessed the fortress there, and left his flagstone there, and prophesied that the kings and ordained persons out of Aileach would be over Erin.

Prior to the ninth century the Kings of Aileach, who frequently became High Kings of Ireland, chose as their place of inauguration the Rath of Tullahoge, "because in its proud land is assumed the sovereignty of the men of Erin."

A typical entry may be quoted: In 937 Murkertagh [of the Leather Cloaks] succeeded to the kingship of Ulster on the death of Fergan, and was crowned at Tullahoge by the Archbishop of Armagh.

When in 1101 Murkertagh O'Brien marched north with an overwhelming army and destroyed Aileach, the fortress palace of the northern Hy-Niall, in revenge for the destruction of Kincora thirteen years before, the Ulster kings did not restore it as a residence and appear to have moved inland to Tyrone upwards of half a century prior to this happening, as Ardgall, Prince of Aileach, died in 1064 at Tullahoge, and was buried at Armagh.

In 1188 there was a raid by the foreigners of Magh-Coba [Iveagh, Co. Down] and a party of the Ui Echach of Ulidia into Tyrone until they reached Leim-mic-Neill (the leap of O'Neill, the son of Niall—grandson, according to O'Donovan, Four Masters, III. 81, of Niall, King of Ireland, 818-19). The place has not been identified, but is supposed to have been near Dungannon, which does not seem to have become an O'Neill residence till the second half of the thirteenth century. In the year 1318 Donal O'Neill's appeal to Pope John XXII is dated from Dungannon, which from this time onwards, except for occasional intervals became the headquarters and seat of government of the O'Neills, Princes of Ulster.

CHAPTER II.

1432 - 1523.

The making of an O'Neill; alliance with the Geraldines; death of Con More; Dungannon Castle besieged; O'Donnell raids into Tyrone; Con Bacagh elected O'Neill.

The concluding paragraph of the previous chapter contains the only traceable reference to Dungannon during the fourteenth century

and in the fifteenth century the Annals are largely taken up with internecine contests for supremacy between ambitious members of the sept. Thus in the year 1432 O'Neill—Donall, son of Henry O'Neill, was slain by the O'Cahans, in O'Cahan's country. He was succeeded as King of Ulster by Eoghan, who in 1455 was deposed by his son Henry. His inauguration is thus characteristically chronicled in the Annals of Ulster :—

"A.D. 1455. Ua Neill, that is, Henry, son of Eogan, son of Niall Ua Neill junior, was made king this year over Ulster, namely a month before Lammas precisely, Ua Cathain and Mac Uidhir [Maguire], and Mac Mathgamna [MacMahon], and all the Ua Neill Clans and the successor of St. Patrick [the Archbishop of Armagh] went with him to Tulach-og and he was made king by them there honourably, by the will of God and men, and so on."

Towards the close of this century the references to Dungannon become more frequent, thus the historian did not consider it beneath his dignity to record that in the year 1485, "Eogan, son of Brian [O'Neill], a man wise in council, slipped in the snow, going from the town to his own house and died of it." Possibly his way lay down Scotch-Street, but there were no public houses in Dungannon in those days.

Con O'Neill, Tanist of Tyrone, married Eleanora, sister of Garrett Fitzgerald, known as the great Earl of Kildare, thus ensuring the support of the powerful Geraldine clan. This was frequently afforded in Con's wars with the O'Donnells, into whose hands he was so unfortunate as to fall in 1481. He was ransomed from them in 1483 upon which his father, Henry, resigned the chieftainship, and Con More was inaugurated O'Neill in his stead. In 1489, the year of his father's death, Con erected a Franciscan Friary near his fortress at Dungannon, which he richly endowed, and according to Ware another at Ballinasaggart.

Con More [Con the Great] was treacherously murdered by his brother Henry in 1493, and was interred with great pomp in the Friary of Dungannon which he founded. A civil war then ensued in Tyrone between Henry and his brother Donnell. Henry was at first successful, and Donnell whom Lady Eleanora, the late O'Neill's wife appears to have favoured could only maintain a desultory opposition. Donnell, with his adherents in the clan, and the MacMahons, made a determined effort in the year 1495 to capture Dungannon, but after being around the castle for some time were obliged to raise the siege and draw off. Their opponents, the followers of Henry Oge, meantime were not idle, and taking them by surprise in a night attack on their camp at Cross-Cavanagh (a townland in the parish of Pomeroy) slew a great number of them including Hugh, son of MacMahon, capturing the greater part of their horses and armour.

In 1497 a peace was made between the two O'Neills, Donnell and Henry Oge, but Turlough and Con the sons of the murdered chieftain who still cherished feelings of revenge for their father's death four years before, in 1498, suddenly fell upon the murderer in the house of one of the O'Neills situated in Toaghie, which is the ancient name for the territory comprised in the presently barony of Armagh. This action set the country aflame once more; Con and Turlough with their allies laid siege to the castle of Dungannon, where they were surprised by the adherents of Henry and defeated. The young O'Neills then sought aid from O'Donnell, and from their uncle, the Earl of Kildare, now Lord Deputy. Kildare in 1498 invaded Tyrone accompanied by a large contingent of the southern Irish, and was joined by O'Donnell and Maguire. Donnell O'Neill with his sons and all his adherents also joined the Lord Deputy's army, which, arriving at Dungannon, the castle was taken by means of cannon, then a novelty in warfare, on the morrow. In the capture of the castle, many prisoners were liberated including a son of O'Donnell, which perhaps had something to do with the chieftain of Tirconnell's alacrity in rendering assistance to Donnell O'Neill and the sons of Con. The Lord Deputy then proceeded to Omagh, the castle of which was also surrendered to him. After placing the castle of Dungannon in Donnell's keeping the hosts departed to their several places of abode.

Donnell appears to have succeeded his brother Henry in the chieftainship, but there was no peace for the distracted country, and in 1500 O'Donnell (Red Hugh) made a hosting into Tyrone in aid of Donnell and the sons of Con, in which he burned Dungannon and broke down the old castle. On his way homeward he burned the Crannog of Lough Leary and returned safely to his own house. This crannog was named after Leaghuire, a Red Branch Knight, and was situated in what is now known as Lough Mary in Baronscourt demesne.

During his tenure of the chieftainship Donnell found the position of O'Neill anything but a bed of roses. In 1504 a treacherous attack was made upon him by Teige O'Hagan and his sons in O'Neill's own castle of Dungannon, which they captured. However their success was of short duration, the castle being retaken when Teige and two of his sons were hanged, and his third son maimed. This was to prevent his being elected to the captaincy of Tullahog, no person having a blemish being eligible for the office of chief, hence the more humane of successful candidates sometimes maimed those whom they considered dangerous rivals instead of summarily executing or causing them to be slain.

On the 11th July, 1505, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, chieftain of Tirconnell died, and the Four Masters, as in duty bound, pronounce a

most glowing eulogium, styling him "the Augustus of the north-west of Europe, etc." He was succeeded by his son, Hugh Oge (oge, young, or junior) who signalised his accession by leading an army into Tyrone and burning Dungannon. This notwithstanding his father's friendship for Donnell O'Neill, whom he assisted in obtaining the chieftainship of Tyrone. Evidently the O'Neills were taken by surprise as it is recorded that he traversed the country from the Abhain-more (great river, now Blackwater) inwards without opposition. After this raid, which was a customary performance of a Tanist on succeeding to the chieftainship, he went to Kilmacrenan where he was inaugurated as O'Donnell.

The O'Neill sept had been so weakened by their internal feuds that when in 1507 O'Donnell again invaded Tyrone, encamped around the castle of Dungannon and slew numbers of the people of the town, O'Neill was obliged to make peace with him.

Donnell O'Neill found rest after his stormy reign in 1509, and forthwith trouble arose, the Earl of Kildare coming to the assistance of his nephews, but ere he reached the north they had got hold of the castle of Dungannon. The Earl went from that and took the castle of Omagh, which was held by another sept of the O'Neills. Art, son of Hugh, succeeded Donnell in the lordship of Tyrone, but enjoyed no more peaceful tenure of office than his predecessor, as in 1512 O'Donnell after his return from a pilgrimage to Rome made an expedition into Connaught where he defeated Mac William Burke, after which he made an expedition into Tyrone which he ravaged and burned until he reached Dungannon. The Donegal chieftain with his forces remained a week in the country, ravaging and destroying it, until O'Neill made peace by relinquishing in favour of O'Donnell all the claims that had been in dispute—the overlordship of Kinel-moen (Raphoe), Inishowen, and all Fermanagh. After which O'Donnell went to Omagh, and in the space of a week re-erected the castle there which had been demolished by the Earl of Kildare when he captured it in 1509. Art O'Neill, lord of Tir-owen, died in Dungannon in the year 1513, and was succeeded in the lordship by Art Oge, who was inaugurated at Tullahog with the usual ceremonies, supported by the greater part of the clan. On his accession he took the castle of Dungannon from the sons of Art, his predecessor, with the help of his uncle, the Earl of Kildare, who marched north with a host to his aid. Con More and his sons might well say of the Geraldine :—

"Not for rite or feast ye stayed, when friend or kin were pressed ;
And foemen fled when "Crom Abu," bespoke your lance in rest."

Although Art Oge had been elected to the chieftainship by the majority of the Kinel-Owen, there was as usual a discontented

minority led by Hugh, son of Donnell O'Neill (1498-1509), who put their opposition into practical form by taking up arms, when they were so disastrously defeated by O'Neill "that the lordship of Tir-Eoghain remained with him without dispute from that out." In this estimate the contemporary compiler of the Annals of Ulster was too optimistic as it turned out, as in 1517 O'Donnell at the instigation of the dissentient faction again invaded Tir-Owen, burning the country until he reached Killetra (barony of Loughinsholin, south-west of Derry). Here he remained five nights until the O'Neill faction whom he had come to support joined him. The augmented army then continued their burning and spoiling till they reached Dungannon, which O'Neill was obliged to abandon, whereupon they burned the town completely and occupied the castle. The Lady O'Neill, widow of Con More, was not inclined to see her grandson, Art Oge, the O'Neill, treated in such fashion, accordingly she invoked the assistance of her nephew, the Earl of Kildare, who, on his way northward broke down the castle of Dundrum and ravaged the territory of Magennis, after which he proceeded to Dungannon, the castle of which he broke down, probably by the use of cannon, and ravaged the country. In this year (1517) John O'Neill, of Kenard (Caledon) who was Tanist of Tyrone, died, and was succeeded as Tanist or heir-apparent, by O'Neill's brother, Con Bacagh (lame Con).

According to the Brehon law any physical deformity rendered a candidate ineligible for the position of head of the clan. We have already seen how O'Neill (Donnell) having hanged Teige O'Hagan and his two sons for treachery maimed his third son for this purpose. However, the Tanist of Tyrone, Con Bacagh, in spite of his lameness was inaugurated O'Neill on the death of Art Oge in 1519. This appointment is most interesting as indicating the tendency amongst the reigning families to change from gaelic to feudal custom, so as to retain the succession in their own line to the exclusion of other families possessing equal rights to the leadership of the sept. Con Bacagh apparently reigned over Tyrone for four years in comparative peace, when in 1523 war once more broke out between O'Neill and O'Donnell in which O'Donnell (Hugh Duff son of Hugh Roe) after the usual fashion, ravaged and burned the whole country from the Finn valley to Dungannon. On their way thither the town (residence, or mansion) of MacDonnell at Knocknaclogha (Cnoc-an-Cluiche, the hill of games), about three miles from Pomeroy, was burned by them. A beautiful herb garden there, not being of an inflammable nature was cut down and destroyed by O'Donnell's forces. They remained for some time encamped at Tullahoge, ravaging and plundering the country round; which being accomplished they proceeded to Carn-teel where they committed great depredations and killed or destroyed great numbers of cattle. The Irish usually made a prey of the cattle

and other live stock of their enemies, driving them off to their own territory, but should it not be convenient to do so, as was apparently the case in the present instance, they houghed them with their slaughtering knives. (See F.M. A.D. 1543).

The MacDonnell whose mansion was destroyed was hereditary captain of O'Neill's gallowglasses (heavy armed foot-soldiers). His ancestors came over from Scotland in the thirteenth century, and in 1265 founded the Franciscan Friary at Armagh, where many of his descendants and kinsmen were buried. The MacDonnells were originally Airghiallans (territory now represented by the diocese of Clogher), deriving from Godfrey, son of Fergus, Prince of Airghialla, who was sent with a force to Scotland to aid King Kenneth Mac Alpin, by the monarch Niall of Callan, in 835. The herb garden that was destroyed indicates that the family physician had his residence convenient to that of the chief, and if he did not become a skilled leech it was not for want of practice as doctor to O'Neills fighting men.

In the seventeenth century Knocknaclogha had a further title to fame as the haunt of a noted outlaw known as Shane Bernagh, who was a coadjutor of Redmond O'Hanlan. In this townland is situated "Shane Bernagh's chair," a rocky eminence overlooking an ancient highway from Dungannon to Omagh. Tradition has it that he never had any teeth, yet so strong was the bony formation of his jaws that he could bite through a thin plate of iron as if it were gingerbread. He was finally shot and his followers dispersed.

CHAPTER III.

1527—1542.

The Lord Deputy's invasion a failure; Ballydonnelly castle demolished; another invasion of Tyrone; Dungannon destroyed; O'Neill protects the young Geraldine; submission of O'Neill to the Lord Deputy; visits England and is made Earl of Tyrone.

In 1527 Con Bacagh's relative and ally, the Earl of Kildare, was sent for to attend before the English Council and answer the charges of misgovernment of which he had been accused by his enemies. Upon his arrival in London he was committed to the Tower. While Kildare was confined in England his family and adherents followed the Geraldine policy of stirring up rebellion in Ireland which the temporary rulers were quite unable to suppress, accordingly Henry

VIII thought it prudent to allow the Earl his liberty, but appointed Sir William Skeffington as Lord Deputy in 1529, and permitted Kildare to return to Ireland some months later. During the Earl's absence in England O'Neill had been doing what he could for his kinsman by keeping the north in a disturbed state. His great rival, O'Donnell, resolving to profit by this met Skeffington at Drogheda, and entered into a treaty by which he promised the King allegiance and bound himself to the Deputy against all his Majesty's enemies. At the same time he covenanted for several of the O'Neill's urriaghs (tributary or under chiefs), as well as for himself. Skeffington bound himself to give them such protection as was due to the King's subjects. This last was a very necessary stipulation, as O'Neill apparently lost no time in proceeding to bring his recalcitrant urriaghs to heel. In consequence of these proceedings of Con Bacagh, Skeffington in fulfilment of his agreement, in 1531, led an army into Ulster accompanied by Kildare and Ossory. This army burned and ravaged what was then the southern portion of O'Neill's territory. The English forces were joined at Kenard (Caledon) by the army of O'Donnell and Niall Oge O'Neill. The castle of Kenard was broken down by them. This was the end of their achievement as O'Neill was in front of them with a large force, and the invaders were obliged to return as they came, without O'Neill having made either peace or truce with them.

In addition to the menace of invasion Con Bacagh had internal difficulties as well. His Tanist, Niall Oge, in 1531 assaulted Ballydonnelly (Baile-*ui-Donnghaile*, now Castlecaulfield), and demolished the castle, making prisoner of the eldest son of O'Neill who was being fostered by O'Donnelly, and carried him off, together with the horses and other spoil of the town. The boy who was thus carried off as a hostage was Shane, known in history as Shane the Proud (Shane-an-Diomais), he was also known as Shane Donnellyeach, from being fostered by the O'Donnellys, who in after years were ever his devoted adherents through fortune good or ill. Probably the matter was arranged as there is no further record of his detention or liberation. At any rate, even in his youth Shane would have been a hot handful to retain in captivity.

The Earl of Kildare finding Sir William Skeffington an obstacle to his reinstatement in his former post of Lord Deputy, now threw all his weight into the scale against him, and managed his affairs so well that he crossed the channel early in 1532, and after six months residence at Court returned with his patent as Chief Governor. Meantime in Kildare's absence, probably on account of the disciplinary measures adopted by Con Bacagh to reduce his refractory vassal chiefs to obedience, Skeffington made another military expedition, the most formidable that had ever invaded Tyrone. In

addition to the forces of the Pale, the Deputy was joined by Maguire, O'Reilly, MacMahon, the Clannaboy, several minor O'Neill septs, and the Clanna Rury (the septs of Antrim and Down). In the words of the Annalist :—" For the Gael of the half of Conn [the northern half of Ireland] except a few, turned on O'Neill. These hosts went side for side to Dungannon to meet each other so that the town both wood and stone, both houses and furniture, both fort and fair habitation, was broken and dismembered, destroyed and deleted, overturned and prostrate, so that the Foreigner or Gael of those who saw it ever before recognised it on the third day. The whole territory from border to border was harried and raided, punished and wasted, burned and totally destroyed by them. The herds and other cattle of the territory of O'Neill went in their entirety in fright and constant progress until they reached the mountain of Bith (Slieve Beagh on the confines of Tyrone and Monaghan). . . . These Gael we mentioned before followed them until they overtook them, and carried off with them this cattle spoil hard to count until they came among the Foreigners [the English portion of the Deputy's army]. the beef [a cow or ox] was for a groat, and a beef for every groat with the Foreigners that night. . . . The foreigners returned to their keeps and the Gael to their good houses with victory and overthrow and so on."

Whether as a result of the invasion of Tir-owen by the Lord Deputy, or from natural causes, at any rate it is recorded that in this year (1532) " Felim, son of Owen O'Neill, the Poor died : to wit, that man who took the oath that there would not come in to Tir-Owen in his lifetime a Connallian [O'Donnell] host of which he would not kill a horse or man, and that was fulfilled."

The return of the Earl of Kildare to Ireland as Lord Deputy, in 1532, put an end to hostile invasions of Tir-owen, and when in 1534 Kildare was summoned once more to London to answer for his misgovernment of Ireland, his son " Silken Thomas " whom his father had appointed to act as Deputy during his absence, had Con Bacagh's sympathy and support when he went into rebellion on the false report of his father's death. O'Neill was, however, hampered by the want of unity amongst the northern septs ; O'Donnell, O'Neill of Clannaboy, Maguire and others being ready to make what capital they could out of the rebellion by siding with the Government. By the summer of 1535, Con Bacagh, seeing that the game was up came to Skeffington, who had returned as Lord Deputy, and at Drogheda took the oath of allegiance. At the same time he entered into an indenture under which he retained certain privileges, and in return agreed to help the Deputy and his successors in as complete and ample a manner as any of his predecessors had helped any previous Deputy or Lord Lieutenant. Skeffington died in 1536, and was suc-

ceeded by Lord Leonard Grey, whose mode of government was chiefly by raids and fillibustering expeditons. In 1538 Con Bacagh complained that his black-rent was unpaid, plundered the borders of the Pale and threatened to burn Drogheda, but on the men of Dundalk and Ardee rallying to the Lord Deputy's summons O'Neill became quieter. Meantime a community of interests united the hitherto warring septs of O'Neill and O'Donnell against the English Government, and apparently Con Bacagh was for a time the protector of young Gerald Fitzgerald, whose career reads more like a romance than sober fact ere he was restored to his inheritance as Earl of Kildare. In the autumn of 1538 Grey made one of his customary raids against O'Reilly of Breffney (Co. Cavan), but O'Reilly prudently submitted and Grey journeyed to Dundalk with a view to meeting O'Neill. The Tir-owen chieftain either having received warning, or from his natural distrust of the Lord Deputy, did not keep the appointment, and in the event he acted wisely, for Grey says he was determined to take Gerald if possible, 'and if not by the oath that I have made to my sovereign lord and master, I would have taken the said O'Neill and kept him a prisoner till he had caused the said Gerald to be delivered to my hands.'

Had O'Neill been confiding enough he might very well have been captured by the Deputy, but Con Bacagh with the best will int he world could not have delivered the youthful Geraldine into his hands as he was at that time after many adventures safe in Tirconnell under the watchful guardianship of his aunt, Lady Eleanor O'Donnell. In the course of another year, Lady Eleanor fearing that some of the kidnapping plots might prove successful, had the heir to the Earldom of Kildare and its princely patrimony secretly sent to France and afterwards to Italy for safety, and where he remained till after the death of Henry VIII. He was afterwards restored to his honours and estates by Queen Mary and is known in history as "the Wizard Earl."

In the spring of 1539 Grey undertook another expedition against O'Neill. In this the Lord Deputy nearly caught Con himself, and ravaged much of his country. Before his final retirement from the Government of Ireland, Grey made yet another attempt to get young Gerald of Kildare into his hands by means of O'Neill. For the third time O'Neill promised to meet him, and for the third time failed to appear, on which the chagrined Deputy rode thirty four miles of bad road to Dungannon, and once more almost caught the elusive chief, but the guides either mistook the way, or purposely delayed the soldiers on their night march, so that daylight still found them five miles from Dungannon. Six days were spent in raiding and burning, during which time the soldiers had no bread and were obliged to live on newly killed beef, which gave rise to much disease

in their ranks. This was Grey's last expedition; shortly after he was recalled to England where in 1541 he paid the penalty for his misgovernment of Ireland. Sir Anthony St. Ledger was the new Lord Deputy appointed by Henry, and Con Bacagh seems to have had no more confidence in him than he had in his predecessor, and utterly refused to come to Dundalk, or in any way submit to the King's representative. By this time however, O'Donnell, O'Hanlon, Magennis and MacMahon had returned to their allegiance, and made their submission, consequently when the Lord Deputy prepared to invade the territory of the recalcitrant chief, he had the assistance of these as well as some of the minor clans. Twenty-two days were spent in the usual destruction of the country, but the cattle had been driven into the woods and other secure retreats, and O'Neill himself counter-raided the Fale, where the local levies ably handled by Lord Leuth ignominiously routed him.

In a month's time St. Leger made another expedition which was rather more successful, as he captured some hundreds of cows and horses. Then in December (1541) he made a third attack, in which 3,000 kine besides horses and sheep were taken in spite of the clansmen of Tir-owen which brought O'Neill to his knees and he made submission. This result was not achieved without great loss and suffering amongst the royal forces, the soldiers having to lie without tents on the wet ground. Many horses died, and many more were lamed. Such were some of the pleasures of a winter campaign in Tyrone.

After some diplomacy and pressure Con Bacagh was persuaded to go to Court to receive the title of Earl of Tyrone, which had been chosen for him by the English Government. He would have preferred to have been created Earl of Ulster, as more in accordance with his pretensions, but this title pertaining to the Crown, the King refused to part with it. The Government were jubilant at having enmeshed so stout and troublesome an opponent as O'Neill, who, on his visit to London was treated with the utmost distinction.

The ceremony of his creation as Earl took place at Greenwich on Sunday, 1st October, 1542, in the Queen's closet, which was richly hung with cloth of Arras, and well strewn with rushes. After the proclamation of the new Earl's style as "*Du treshant et puissant Seigneur Con, Conte de Tyrone, en la Royaulme d'Irlande*", he gave unto Garter for the fine of his gown twenty angels, and to the whole office of arms £10, and so to the trumpets 40s., and the other officers were honourably recompensed according to ancient custom."

The terms of the patent which was afterwards to be the cause of so much war and bloodshed were as follows:—"Letters patent creating Con O'Nele, Earl of Tyrone, for life on acknowledgement of the King's sovereignty, and of the error of himself and his associates.

The title after his death to descend to Matthew, alias Feardouraghe O'Neile, his son, and his heirs male. Also grant of all his lands to be holden by Knight's service. The said Matthew to be Baron of Dungannon ; which title is always to be borne by heirs apparent to the Earldom of Tyrone."

According to Gainsforde (History of the Earle of Tirone, 1619), Matthew until the age of fifteen was the reputed son of a Dundalk smith, but that his "mother did at the time of her death, according to the custom of the country, present him [Con O'Neill] with this sonne."

That Con Bacagh only accepted an English earldom under pressure is borne out by Gainsforde's statement that "Con Bacagh cursed his posterity if either they learned the language, sowed any wheate, or builded houses."

CHAPTER IV.

1542—1567.

The discredited Earl of Tyrone ; the rise of Shane the Proud ; he visits London ; slaying of the Baron of Dungannon : the Lord Deputy's Army at Dungannon ; the last of Shane-andiomas.

Con Bacagh returned to Dungannon with his new title of Earl of Tyrone, which was simply ignored by his followers, to whom he was still the O'Neill, but much less trusted than before his intercourse with the English. His illegitimate son, Matthew, being at this time a lusty horseman and well-trying soldier, was the cause of Con's obtaining the Barony of Dungannon and the remainder of the Earldom for him, in preference to his legitimate son, Shane, who was but a boy. Shane's fosterers, the O'Donnellys were not disposed to see their protegee set aside in this fashion, and when he and his foster brothers grew up to manhood they took their own means to put the matter right.

Whether the Baron of Dungannon was a Kelly or an O'Neill, he showed himself during the turbulent years that followed as a capable leader and a steady adherent of the English government, being well aware that his position depended on official support. At length in 1551 the suspicions of the Lord Deputy and Council were so far excited by the Baron of Dungannon's reports of the practises of the Earl of Tyrone and his legitimate sons, that they inveigled Con and his wife to Dublin, where he was detained as being useless in his own country and quite unable to control Shane.

When this proceeding became known in Tyrone, Shane and his brothers took up arms and declared war against the Baron of Dungannon and the English who protected him. An expedition was sent northward headed by Bagenal and the "Baron" against the fire-brand (Shane), who broke down the bridge over the Blackwater and dismantled his ancestral castle of Dungannon, to prevent the English planting a garrison there. In the following year after an interview with Lord Chancellor Cusack, Shane sped straight to his father's house at Dungannon, four miles away, which he rifled of £800 in gold and silver, with plate and other stuff, and then set the place on fire to prevent it falling into the hands of the English or the "Baron." Cusack perceiving the fire, states that he sent "light horsemen to save the house from burning, and upon my coming to the town, and finding that a small thing would make the place wardable, what was wanted I caused to be made up, and left the Baron of Dungannon's ward in the castle." The burning of strongholds was a common practice to prevent the English placing garrisons in these places, then when the danger was past the chief would re-occupy his castle or fortress, which willing hands soon made serviceable once more.

Expeditions to Tyrone proving fruitless Con O'Neill was released on putting in hostages, towards the close of the year 1552. His Countess and her son remaining as pledges for him, and Shane's brother for that active rebel. The Earl bound himself in £6,000, to keep the peace towards the King's adherents, the Baron of Dungannon, Calvagh O'Donnell, Maguire, and Turlough Lynagh (O'Neill).

Con O'Neill's acceptance of an Earldom at the point of the sword was looked upon as a degradation by his followers, and henceforth with the exception of the personal adherents of himself and the Baron of Dungannon, he steadily lost ground in Tyrone most of the clan transferring their allegiance to Shane whose anti-English activities won for him the suffrages of the great majority of the people. Tyrone and his son, the Baron of Dungannon were not inclined to stand by and see their authority pass to Shane without a struggle. The consequences of this were described with a certain amount of truth, but with considerable exaggeration, by Cusack, who wrote on 27th September, 1551:—"The centre of Tyrone is brought through the war of the Earl and his sons (some of themselves against each other) to such an extent of misery as there is not ten ploughs in all Tyrone." 'Hundreds,' he calculates 'this last year and this summer died thro' famine.' But practically Shane was master of the situation, and in 1557 Tyrone and the Baron were obliged to seek shelter in the Pale. After Shane's defeat by Calvagh O'Donnell they were restored by Sussex, but in 1558, the year of Elizabeth's accession, the Baron of Dungannon was slain in an obscure fray. This was effected by the

simple ruse of raising the 'hue-and-cry at the base of a castle where he lay that night, when the gentleman ran suddenly forth to answer the cry as the custom is, they betrayed and murdered him.' Campion who narrated the incident twelve years after it happened, does not give the name of the Castle, so that presumably it was not at Dungannon it took place. After this Tyrone once more fled for safety to the Pale where he died apparently in the spring of 1559.

As soon as his father's death became known to Shane O'Neill he hastened without delay to Tullahog and had himself inaugurated O'Neill, which was merely an official confirmation of the position he had already held for years. This was in open defiance of English law, but Elizabeth at the opening of her reign was inclined to treat the great Ulster chief graciously, and being of a practical turn of mind recognised that what was done could not be undone except by a long and costly war which the Government was in no condition to undertake just then. Consequently when Sussex returned to his post as Lord Deputy of Ireland, in July, 1559, paragraph 14 of his instructions was to the effect that as Shane already occupied and possessed "all that country, rule, and lands which his father enjoyed without let or interruption of any person . . . we think meet, especially for the preferment of the person legitimate in blood and next for that he is thereof in quiet possession, that the Deputy shall allow him to succeed his father."

After a great deal of negotiation Shane O'Neill was persuaded to visit London early in 1562, and make a personal submission to Elizabeth, to whom he had so often appealed against Irish Governors. During O'Neill's stay or virtual captivity in London, Tyrone was in a state of distraction, many disturbances being raised by the sons of the late Baron of Dungannon and other enemies. Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, at his death left three legitimate sons, Brian, 2nd Baron, Hugh and Cormac. Turlogh Lynagh, who was O'Neill's Tanist, during Shane's absence, waylaid the unfortunate Brian one morning before daybreak, with 100 horse and 200 foot, somewhere between Carlingford and Newry. The victim had no more than twenty with him. He hid in a thicket, and stripped off his clothes intending to swim the river when the pursuit slackened, but one of his followers who was taken offered in order to save his own life, to betray a better person. Accordingly his hiding place was pointed out and he was slain, by MacDonnell Totane (of the burning).

This murder of the young "Baron" aroused the Government, who, in pursuance of their usual policy that they should have a "Queen's O'Neill," who would form a counter party amongst the clan, and so help to offset the power wielded by the chief should he object to the Anglicization of his country, or not prove sufficiently pliable in carrying out the Queen's projects, secured the person of

Hugh O'Neill, Brian's successor then at fosterage with the O'Hagans, and placed him in custody of Captain Giles Hovenden, an English servitor, who had the manor of Killaban, in Queen's County. This is evidently how in after years the great Earl's foster brother, Henry Hovenden, came to be his most astute and trusted councillor and ambassador.

The crime narrated and other disorders in Tyrone convinced the Government that Shane was the only person strong enough to control the unruly elements in that portion of the realm. O'Neill was back in Ireland by the end of May, but in order to get free was obliged to agree to conditions which he repudiated as having been obtained under duress, as soon as he was back in his own country. His foot once more on his native soil he proceeded with a high hand to chastise those chiefs who had repudiated his overlordship and sided with the Government, whom they now found unable to protect them. The repeated complaints of the injured chieftains caused Sussex, now raised to the dignity of Lord Lieutenant, to make an expedition to the north, which arrived at Armagh, 11th April, 1563. Here the army pitched their camp for a space, Shane's men skirmishing with them most of the time. At length one dark night when the rain was falling in torrents, a party of the enemy crept up to the lines and carried off 300 pack horses. On the 1st June the army rose up from Armagh and marched to Dungannon, from which on the evening of the 2nd they marched to a hill beyond Tullahog where they encamped. Shane O'Neill with his forces being lodged in the surrounding woods continually skirmishing with the Government forces a few were slain on both sides. Sussex had in his camp James O'Hagan and his son, who acted as guides to the army, and being sent out to spy on O'Neill's forces, stumbled into the midst of one of Shane's creaghts. The old man was taken but the son escaped. It was with the O'Hagans of Tullahog that Hugh O'Neill was fostered prior to his removal by the Government, after the murder of his brother Brian, consequently the O'Hagans were of the Baron's faction and opposed to Shane. On the 3rd the army marched through a long pass and came to a great plain by Lough Neagh. Shane O'Neill still skirmishing and keeping in touch with them, but refusing to draw into a general engagement. They returned and came to their camp by Art O'Quyne's lough some three miles from Dungannon. Next day the Lord Deputy and his forces returned to Armagh, only to find that the pledges put in by MacMahon had fled during their absence. The baffled Viceroy returned to the Pale, and thus ended the inglorious campaign.

Shane O'Neill's after career, which does not immediately concern Dungannon, may for the sake of continuity of the narrative be briefly summed up. On the 2nd May, 1565, O'Neill inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots in North Antrim. James MacDonnell

was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Sorley Boy was also taken, and their brother Angus was killed. Two chiefs of the Macleods, with many men of note fell into the victor's hands. But pride goes before a fall, and in the following year Shane himself when invading Tirconnell was as decisively defeated by the O'Donnells. Finding himself being gradually hemmed in by the Lord Deputy, Sidney on the one hand, and his enemies on the other, and in despair at his loss of prestige, he, in a moment of weakness placed himself in the power of the Scots, of whom a strong force had just landed at Cushendun. A feast was made to celebrate the occasion, after which the wine and usquebaugh circulated, this loosened tongues, and a quarrel ensued, in which the Scots avenged their recent loss at his hands by almost cutting to pieces with their dirks Shane-an-diomas.

"You were turbulent and haughty, proud, and keen as Spanish steel.

But who had right of these, if not our Ulster's Chief, O'Neill."

CHAPTER V.

1567—1588.

Turlogh Lynagh made O'Neill : fort erected at Blackwater ; Hugh O'Neill's feud with Bagenal : Armada survivors at Dungannon ; the Lord Deputy visits Dungannon.

After Shane O'Neill's death, Turlogh Lynagh, who was Tanist to Shane, was in due course inaugurated O'Neill. He had tried to accelerate his promotion by causing himself to be created O'Neill, just three days before Shane landed at Dublin, on his return from the English Court, but once that fiery chieftain reached Tyrone no more was heard of his O'Neillship. Turlogh Lynagh was not the man to oust Shane-an-diomas from his pride of place in Tyrone. After some experience of Turlogh, the Lord Justice and his sovereign began to think the new O'Neill was as bad as the old one. Turlogh resided at Strabane, and when he did come to south Tyrone had his residence at Benburb or its vicinity, consequently does not enter into the story of Dungannon, which with its surrounding lands appear to have descended to the Baron of Dungannon, and afterwards in due course to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Beyond the fact recorded by Gainsforde that 'he trooped in the streets of London, with sufficient equipage and orderly respect,' nothing in particular is known of his life at court, though from certain expressions in his letters, it seems probable that he attached himself to the household of the Earl of Leicester. Sir Henry Sydney in 'A summary of all his services

in Ireland,' says "I had with me the young Baron of Dungannon, Shane's eldest brother's son, whom I bred in my house from a little boy, then very poor of goods and feebly friended."

Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, the boy whom Sydney refers to, now grown to manhood, returned to Ireland early in 1568, and was then established in that part of Tyrone territory corresponding to the modern county Armagh. From other references we infer that the Baron's first residence, after his return to Ulster, was in Marlacoo lough where there was a cranoge on which was a fortified residence. Turlogh Lynagh, who had slain his brother Brian was not likely to view with much favour this new English O'Neill, and accordingly made matters hot for the young Baron, and there were complaints and counter complaints to the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney. At this time Hugh O'Neill, as a matter of necessity was a strong supporter of the English Government, while Turlogh Lynagh aimed at exercising the O'Neill lordship and jurisdiction in all its ancient fulness. Fortunately for him, his wife, who had been the widow of James MacDonnell, was a very wise, prudent woman who restrained him from jeopardising his position and thus playing into the hands of his more crafty rival.

Essex made an expedition into Tyrone in the summer of 1575, for the purpose of erecting a fort at the Blackwater. This after some skirmishing with Turlogh Lynagh was done after a fashion—"A bridge with stone piers and timber superstructure was finished, earthen bridgeheads were thrown up, and an entrenched enclosure constructed to hold 200 men and tenable by fifty; the Baron of Dungannon (Hugh O'Neill) agreeing to find victuals for the latter number.

At this time the relative fighting strengths were—O'Neill (Turlogh Lynagh), 200 horsemen; 400 gallowglasses; 1,000 kerne; 400 Scots.

The Baron of Dungannon with his under chiefs, 110 horsemen; 300 gallowglasses, 400 kerne.

From this return it will be seen how much inferior in men Hugh, Baron of Dungannon was to O'Neill, and how necessary to his existence it was to have the backing of the Government. At this time Sir Hugh O'Donnell recommended that Dungannon itself be fortified, but nothing further than the Blackwater fort was attempted, and it was but rudimentary, and a standing eyesore to both Turlogh Lynagh and his rival, the Baron. Later, O'Neill, under the influence of his wife, became reconciled to the English government, and on 18th May, 1578, was created Baron of Clogher, and Earl of Clan O'Neill. This title was never perfected—probably the example of Con Bacagh acted as a warning to Turlogh Lynagh and his politic wife, that to change the princely title of O'Neill for an Earldom

would be but playing into the hands of the Baron of Dungannon, who was already laying his plans to oust Turlogh from his chieftainship. Hugh O'Neill's moves to arrogate to himself the power of O'Neill in the southern part of the Tyrone territory—Armagh had not then been divided off and made shire ground, are fully described in the State Papers. Thus, he writes to the Lord Justice, 22nd November, 1579—"O'Neill is drawing great numbers of the Scots into the North. His intent is evil. . . . If you will bestow on me 100 footmen in pay, I will keep the Pale unless O'Neill do war; and then 300 footmen and 50 horsemen should lie at the Blackwater at my direction." This was a very ingenious move of the Baron to get the Fort at Blackwater into his possession and control, but it proved fruitless. His next move we learn from a letter of Lord Justice Pelham to the Queen, dated the day following (Nov. 23) Hugh O'Neill's letter, in which he mentions amongst other items of news—"The Baron of Dungannon being sworn unto them (O'Neill and O'Donnell) and accepted as Tanist or successor." The astute Hugh, when he found that there was nothing more to be gained by posing as the supporter of England against the rebellious Turlogh, at once made peace with his old opponent and then proceeded to



undermine him in other ways. Part of his agreement seems to have been that he should put away his wife, the daughter of O'Donnell, and sister of Red Hugh, but the Lord Justice (Drury) alarmed at the prospect of a union between the two chiefs succeeded in dissuading him.

There is a pen and ink sketch of Turlogh Lynagh, drawn by Barnaby Gooch, which is here reproduced. It was done on the margin of a letter in which the writer says that it is "rudely drawn but greatly resembling him." (State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, XIV. 60 II. P.R.O.).

On a rumour of the landing of 3,000 Scots to force Turlogh Lynagh to free two of Shane O'Neill's sons whom he held captive, Sir Nicholas Bagenal with a small force made an expedition into Tyrone. Turlogh refused to yield his prisoners, and to avoid the pressure of this force of Scots, moved southwards and met Bagenal at Blackwater fort, where they dined together. Marshal Bagenal patched up a peace between O'Neill and the Baron of Dungannon, friction having arisen once more between the two potentates. The feud between Hugh O'Neill and the Bagenals manifested itself as early as this time (August, 1584), for the Marshal in his despatch says—"Besides the breach with Turlogh, he refused to yield any

obedience to my Commission in the presence of the Lord of Louth, Sir Hugh Magennis and others, wishing me to put my Commission in my pocket, that he would not be commanded by any but her Majesty and her Lord Deputy. Hugh O'Neill, whose own pedigree was far from flawless, probably despised Bagnal as an upstart indeed the choleric Perrott in the Council chamber is said to have twitted him with having sprung from a tailor's stall. Both the O'Neills seem to have got on well with Lord Deputy Perrott, as later on in the same year (1584) he persuaded Turlogh Lynagh to accept his arrangement of dividing all Ulster except Tirconnell into three lieutenancies and to extinguish O'Neill's claim to the Urraghs (under or tributary chiefs). One division was to be assigned to O'Neill, one to the Baron of Dungannon, and the other to Marshal Bagenal. Hugh O'Neill's request to be admitted Earl of Tyrone was granted and he sat by that title in the Parliament of 1585. The Lord Deputy was also successful later on in the year 1584 in getting Turlogh Lynagh's consent to an arrangement by which Hugh O'Neill was put in possession of that part of Tyrone which lies between the Blackwater and the Mullaghcarne mountains, at an annual rent of 1,000 marks, to which Perrott added the command of all the Urraghs, or vassal chiefs lying between the Pale and Slieve Guillion, the arrangement to hold good for seven years.

Dungannon and the surrounding district being the mensal lands of Hugh O'Neill's family, he appears to have taken up his residence there after concluding the agreement with Turlogh Lynagh. In a description of Ulster in the year 1586, it says—"Turlogh most commonly dwelleth in the castle of Strabane. The new castle on the Earl's part is at Dungannon (Car MSS.)

The year 1588 was that of the Invincible Armada, and in the early days of September in that year the storm beaten remains of King Philip's fleet came sweeping on the Irish coast, and soon the north and western shores of Ulster were studded with Spanish wrecks and stewn with Spanish dead. One of these galleons, the "Trinidad Valencera," of Venice, (1,100 tons, 42 guns, 360 men), was cast away on the Inishowen side of Lough Foyle. The shipwrecked fugitives landed in O'Doherty's country, whereupon Sir John O'Doherty sent word to Richard and Henry Hovenden, Tyrone's foster brothers, who at once proceeded with 150 men to Burt Castle. From there they attacked the Spaniards, who were at Sir John O'Doherty's town of Illagh, and made them prisoners. They carried them to Dungannon, as it is from there that the Hovendens write to the Lord Deputy, on 14th September, 1588, and at a later date amongst the Earl of Tyrone's grievances we find one is that neither he nor the Hovendens had any recompense for overthrowing five or six hundred Spaniards, the best of whom he sent to the Lord

Deputy. The tale did not lose anything in the telling.

One of the conditions under which Tyrone acquired control of the greater part of the O'Neill principality was, that Turlogh Lynagh could terminate the agreement at the end of three years. It was not very long before friction arose between O'Neill and Tyrone, so that when the three years had elapsed Turlogh Lynagh proceeded to reclaim according to the terms of the agreement. The fat was now fairly in the fire. Tyrone having once got under his control the greater part of the O'Neill principality, would about as soon have parted with it as with his heart's blood. Turlogh Lynagh complained to the Lord Deputy and Council, and Fitzwilliam, the new Deputy who had succeeded Perrott, on his journey to the north was met at Newry by Turlogh, who was most eager to have his lands and tenants back. However, Fitzwilliam managed to put him off by promising that he and the Council would deal with the matter before the following May "as should be to both their contentments." It partly satisfied O'Neill, but was just as likely to be realised as if he had promised to give each of them the first penny that he found floating down the Blackwater on a grindstone. Afterwards the Lord Deputy went on to Dungannon, where he says "I found so great cheer and refreshing at the Earl [of Tyrone's] cost, as I could wish no better. Mr. Secretary [Fenton] fell in dealing with the Earl, persuading to deliver up the lease to O'Neill."

There were high old tunes in Dungannon in the year of grace, 1588, first with the arrival of the Spanish prisoners, then towards the close of the year, the visit of no less a personage than the Viceroy of Ireland himself, with his attendant train. Hugh O'Neill must have listened with his tongue in his cheek to Secretary Fenton when the latter endeavoured to persuade him to restore the lands leased to him by Turlogh Lynagh, and we may be sure that Tyrone gave as plausible and evasive an answer to the Secretary as the Deputy did to O'Neill. However, the upshot of the matter was that the Earl of Tyrone utterly refused to restore the lands leased to him by Turlogh Lynagh, and there was every prospect of another bloody war in Ulster. The harassed Lord Deputy and Council finally, about the middle of May, 1589, persuaded Turlogh Lynagh to allow the lease to run the remaining four years on condition that he was paid an additional rent of 300 fat beeves annually.

From this it will be seen that the Government favoured the subtle and plausible Earl of Tyrone, and were thus raising up for themselves a dangerous enemy in the not distant future.

CHAPTER VI.

1589—1591.

Rival O'Neills ; Hugh ne gavelock brings charges against Tyrone ; the romance of Mabel Bagenal ; the vengeance of the O'Hagans.

The patching up of the peace between Turlogh Lynagh and the Earl of Tyrone was only a temporary expedient at best, and the friction continued, for Tyrone's whole aim and ambition was to be O'Neill. The sons of Shane O'Neill also aspired to the chieftainship, and were dreaded equally by Turlogh and Hugh O'Neill. Of these the most enterprising and active was an illegitimate son, Hugh, by the wife of O'Donnell, born while his mother was held in captivity by Shane, hence he was known as "ne gavelock," i.e., Hugh of the fetters. Except with his own fosterers, the O'Hagans, in consequence of his English training Hugh O'Neill was not by any means popular in Tyrone during the earlier part of his career, while Turlogh Lynagh the better subject he became, the weaker he waxed, and the less regarded by his people, consequently both feared the sons of Shane, and would have kept them in captivity could they have got them into their power. One of them, Con MacShane, had been for a long time in durance with Turlogh Lynagh, but in view of Hugh O'Neill's undisguised ambition to oust O'Neill from the overlordship of Tyrone, Turlogh early in 1589 set his prisoner at liberty, and at the same time Hugh ne gavelock, who had been for two years in Scotland returned with a force of Scots to Lough Foyle. These apparently placed their services at the disposal of O'Neill, while the Earl Tyrone tried to engage as many Scots as possible to offset the forces of his rival. In addition to this the MacDonnells who were O'Neill's hereditary gallowglasses, were out and out supporters of Conn and Hugh, whose father, Shane the Proud, had in his turbulent lifetime given so much employment to their battleaxes. Everyone in the north anticipated an outbreak of civil war, when the Lord Deputy (Fitzwilliam) made a hurried journey to Ulster, and once more managed to patch up a peace between O'Neill and the Earl of Tyrone. Meantime Hugh ne gavelock had not been idle, and laid before the Lord Deputy and Council a number of grave charges against Tyrone. These the Earl considered so serious that he went to Dublin to answer them personally. This was in the first week of April, 1589. Hugh O'Neill was a favourite of the Deputy, or else he knew how to grease Fitzwilliam's reputedly itching palm. At anyrate the Lord Deputy writing to Walsingham, from Dublin Castle, 20th April, 1589, says that after reading Hugh ne gavelock's letters and hearing his

speeches before the Council "it is a mere practice proceeding from the great and inveterate malice which Sir Turlogh Lynagh, and the sons of Shane O'Neill, and that race have ever borne against the honour and wellbeing of the Earl."

Turlogh Lynagh, probably guided by his wife, while giving countenance and encouragement to Shane's sons took no active part himself, but the MacShanes were active in raiding the Earl of Tyrone's territory, and Sir Henry Bagenal, who was in a position to know, thought that when the nights grew long they would do much harm; and that under colour of them many others do start to make spoil. From a letter of Sir George Carew to Perrott, dated August, 25, 1589, we gather that shortly before they almost captured the Earl, who did not fail to complain to the Government of their actions and states that they have slain as many of his people and cattle as they can. This is confirmed by other correspondents. The Lord Deputy, in writing to Burghley of the doings of Hugh ne gavelock, and Con O'Neill, says "two such members while they live and may be maintained by Sir Turlogh Lynagh O'Neill, will never suffer any part of the North of Ireland to be in quiet. However, the career of Hugh ne gavelock was drawing to a close which was destined to cause an even greater commotion than his doings while alive. It happened thuswise—Hugh ne gavelock, when he was on one of his raids most probably, was captured by the base son of Maguire (chief of Fermanagh), whereupon the Earl of Tyrone availed himself of this chance of getting him into his hands, and purchased their prisoner from the Maguires for 120 steeds, and shortly after hanged him at Dungannon. The earliest report of the execution is 29 January, 1590 (N.S.) Great offers were made to save him, and the O'Donnellys with whom his father had been fostered offered 300 horses and 5,000 cows that he might be spared, but he was too dangerous a competitor for the O'Neillship and he was executed. It was rumoured that no one could be got to execute the son of Shane O'Neill, but Tyrone in his defence repudiates this and gives the names of the two hangmen. This summary execution came as a great shock to the Government, but Tyrone pointed out that the executive was impotent and unable to administer justice in the territory, therefore it devolved on such as he, as her Majesty's lieutenant to do justice upon thieves and murderers, otherwise he would not be able to preserve the country from violence and wrong. This, as the Government were well aware, was but too true; in Ulster they were neither able to protect or punish, so they took up the attitude to Hugh O'Neill—"you have been a naughty boy, you mustn't do it again."

Tyrone, notwithstanding, would seem to have not been quite easy in his mind, as there were complaints against him being sent to the English Government, so he took the sudden step of going to

London in the month of May, 1590, to defend himself before the Queen, without having first obtained the necessary licence from the Lord Deputy, which was in itself a serious offence. He was able to placate the Queen and Council by agreeing to certain conditions, one of which was to execute no man except by commission from the Lord Deputy, under the broad seal of martial law; another was that he was to allow his country to be made shire ground.

Tyrone by his tact and plausibility succeeded in continuing in favour, but some of the more far-seeing of the officials were beginning to have their doubts about him, and on 20 May, 1590, Sir G. Fenton, Chief Secretary, writes—"Not long since he rode in haste with all his forces to the stone when he heard that O'Neill Turlogh Lynagh was dead, which was not so." The inauguration stone was at Tullanog, to which it was not a far journey from Dungannon.

At this period there was enacted quite an interesting romance which happened in this wise. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, now a widower, became enamoured with the charms of Mabel Bagenal, youngest daughter of the late Sir Nicholas Bagenal of Newry, and sister of Sir Henry Bagenal, who had succeeded his father in the office of Marshal of the Army in Ireland. The Marshal, who was either born in or had lived the most of his life in Ireland, had no illusions about the Earl of Tyrone, his ambition and double-dealing, so that when the Earl approached him for the hand of his sister he postponed his answer by saying that he could not move in an affair of such moment, without referring the matter to the Privy Council for their opinion and approval. The Earl proved a persistent suitor, and according to his own account dealt with Bagenal at least six times for his consent. Meantime, Mabel Bagenal was on a visit to Sir Patrick Barnewall and his wife, the young lady's sister and brother-in-law, whom he also dealt with for their consents, and also employed others of their mutual acquaintance to forward his suit with the young lady herself. Sir Henry Bagenal finding that Tyrone was not to be put off, then raised the question whether his divorce from Sir Brian MacPhelim's daughter many years before was valid. Apparently he had the matter cleared up before he married the sister of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, by whose death he was now left a widower, so finding that he was getting nothing but fair words and delays from the Marshal, he determined to settle the matter with the gentlewoman herself. Accordingly he paid a visit to Sir Patrick Barnewall's, where the young lady was staying, and remained there for the night, and while there dealt so effectually with the fair Mabel that they were betrothed, and she received from O'Neill a chain of gold worth £100. Her brother-in-law and sister, who lived at Turvey, near Swords, County Dublin, if they did not encourage the lovers, certainly do not seem to have put any obstacles in their way. Pos-

HISTORY OF DUNCANNON

were enamoured with the idea of their sister being a

After this messengers passed between the enamoured
his fiance, bearing notes which confirmed and strengthened
on both sides, so that on 3 August, 1591, Tyrone accompanied
a dozen English gentlemen, who were his friends, went to
in Sir Patrick Barnewall, where they were handsomely enter-

After dinner the gentlemen proceeded to amuse themselves
ous ways, and Mabel Bagenal espying her time mounted be-
one of the gentlemen of Tyrone's company and went away
him, attended by one or two serving men. The Earl himself
ed in the house talking with Lady Barnewall for her consent.
his fair one was well on her way to the place agreed upon, he
took his leave of Sir Patrick Barnewall and his lady, and fol-
ed quickly after. The gentlemen who had arrived in his company
m took their horses and rode away quietly.

The gallant who performed the kindly office of carrying off the
ty, was named William Warren, it was to his house about a mile
om Dublin that the party proceeded. As soon as they had reached
his haven, Jones, Bishop of Meath, was immediately sent for, and
me, honest man, united firmly in the bonds of matrimony, Hugh
O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Mabel Bagenal.

When her brother, Sir Henry Bagenal, heard what had taken
place he was furious, and wrote to Burghley, the English Secretary
of State complaining of the whole affair, and disavowing any com-
licity therein. He goes on to say—"My grief is unspeakable that
the blood which in my father and myself has often been spilled in
repressing this rebellious race, should now be mingled with so traitor-
ous a stock and kindred," and concluded by threatening that "he
would hold a more vigilant eye upon the Earl's actions than hereto-
fore."

41
Tyrone was fifty and Mabel twenty when this marriage took
place. He was an experienced courtier and diplomat who had very
little to learn from the able statesmen of Elizabeth's Government,
consequently her brother could not have been far wrong in saying
that he did 'by taking advantage of her years and ignorance of his
barbarous estate and course of living, entice the unfortunate girl by
flattering in her through the report of some corrupted persons an opin-
ion of his haviour and greatness."

The Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, with whom O'Neill was a
favourite, while remaining neutral in the matter, as occasion offered,
put in a good word for the Earl, and the whole affair which was a
nine days' wonder at the time, soon blew over and its place was taken
by some fresh happening.

The incivility of Irish life of which Bagenal not unjustly com-
plained, the Earl as far as in his power tried to ameliorate for his

bride, and on 30 December, 1591, Fitzwilliam, in writing to Burghley informs him that 'the Earl since his marriage has bestowed ~~great~~ cost of building at Dungannon, and also at London to furnish and deck that house at Dungannon.'

Mabel Bagenal had by her father's will a fortune of £1,000 which Sir Henry, owing to her marriage against his wishes, utterly declined to pay, and it was one of the causes of recrimination by the Earl in his complaints to the Privy Council against the Marshal.

Some three years after the marriage of the Countess of Tyrone, one of the O'Hagans, the Earl's fosterers was killed by Phelim MacTirlogh O'Neill, who had a residence on the river Bann, near Toome. Cooler moments brought home to him what the consequences were likely to be of his rash act. He then fled from his residence for safety, but after some time finding that no active measures were being taken ventured to return, and as a safeguard intending to solicit having one of the Earl's children to foster.

It was rather a surprise for him on reaching his residence, to find that the Earl and Countess had already arrived there on a visit. Phelim paid his respects and made his request, but received no satisfaction. It did not add to this peace of mind that two of the O'Hagans, brothers of the murdered man, who were in the Earl's train, were suspiciously civil. Next morning Tyrone and his Countess proceeded some distance down the banks of the Bann towards Portglenone, on what would now be termed a picnic. Phelim MacTirlogh accompanied them part of the way but received no countenance from the Earl, and on his returning he was joined by the two O'Hagans more friendly than ever, which on their part was but a pretence, as on their arrival at his residence he was immediately slain. The account of the murder was brought by the attendant who followed the Earl and Countess with provisions, and who, on being chided for his delay, related the evil deed that he had just witnessed. In his charming book of Elizabethan sketches entitled "The Bog of Stars," Standish O'Grady has given a very dramatic rendition of this incident, which is narrated in the State Papers.

Unfortunately this is not a folk tale to be concluded by "they got married and lived happily ever after." Tyrone and the Knight Marshal hated each other, and even in his wife's presence the Earl declared that he hated no man so much in the world as Bagenal. According to a note in the "Trevelyan Papers" (II. p. 102) Mabel herself before long repented her rashness, grew to dislike O'Neill, and went to her brother to get him to complain of Tyrone to the Council of Ireland. She died in less than five years of matrimony, and so did not live to see her brother slain at the battle of the Yellow Ford, where the English army was so disastrously defeated by her husband.

CHAPTER VII.

1591—1594.

The kidnapping of Red Hugh ; his captivity ; escapes to Dungannon ; Tirconnell once more ; Tyrone attains his ambition ; assists in putting down Maguire's rebellion ; submission to the new Lord Deputy.

Another romantic happening occurs in connection with the annals of Dungannon, but to make the incident quite clear we must go back to the winter of the year 1587, when a ship laden with wine, but manned by fifty armed men, put into Lough Swilly. At this time Sir Hugh O'Donnell was chief of Tirconnell, who when rather advanced in years, married (1569) as his second wife Ineen Duff (anglice—the dark daughter), daughter of James MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles, and his wife Lady Agnes Campbell, who in her widowhood married Turlogh Lynagh. As usual there were several claimants for the succession to the chieftainship of Tirconnell. One of these, Hugh, son of Calvagh, was murdered at the instance of Ineed Duff. Then there was an elder son by a previous wife, Donnell, who married a daughter of Turlogh Lynagh. There were also the sons of Hugh Duff, of the eldest blood, who claimed by Gaelic law, but while each of these aspirants had a certain following the favourite of the clansmen was young Hugh Roe, the son of Ineen Duff, then in his sixteenth year. He was looked upon as the prophesied child of great deeds—"when two Hughs lawfully, lineally and immediately succeed each other, being so formally and ceremoniously according to the country's custom, the last Hugh shall be a monarch in Ireland, and banish thence all foreign nations and conquerors."

Sir John Perrott noticed the boy's importance and concluding that he would be a good pledge for the loyalty of his clan sent the wine laden ship round to Lough Swilly. The cargo of the ship becoming known, customers were plentiful, and just at this time Hugh Roe, who was being fostered by the MacSwineys, arrived at Rathmullan Castle, near which the ship lay at anchor. The Captain on hearing of this called in his men, and when MacSwiney sent to purchase a fresh supply of wine to entertain his visitors, replied that he had sold all that he had to spare, but that he would be happy to entertain MacSwiney and his friends on board. They unsuspectingly accepted the invitation and were treated with the greatest hospitality, but while the guests were carousing below in the cabin, the seamen closed down the hatches and carried the whole party out to sea. The natives, who observed this from the shore, were frantic, but pursuit was impossible, and Hugh Roe, the hope of

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Tirconnell, was safely lodged in Dublin Castle.

Although only about sixteen years of age he was betrothed to a Dungannon lady, in the person of Tyrone's daughter, and his future father-in-law used all his influence to procure his liberation, but his efforts were in vain, while he was considered so valuable a hostage that the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrott, refused the offer of £2,000 for his release.

Three years passed in captivity for the young eagle of Tirconnell when he made an attempt to escape, which ended in failure. Another year slowly passed when on Christmas eve 1591, Hugh Roe and his two companions, Henry and Art, sons of Shane, managed to cut their fetters with a file that had been smuggled in to them, and let themselves down from the window of their prison by a silken rope. After almost incredible hardship under which Art O'Neill succumbed, Hugh reached Glenmalur, the residence of the famous Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne, who concealed him while he despatched an urgent message to the Earl of Tyrone, who sent one of his fosterers, Turlogh O'Hagan, who spoke English and was accustomed to their ways, for he attended the Earl when he came on business to the city of Dublin. O'Hagan managed to conduct his charge safely, but with several narrow escapes, to the residence of Turlogh MacHenry (O'Neill) of the Fews, where, being in Tyrone's country he was safe. The fugitive stopped there over night, and next day travelled to Armagh, where they remained concealed for a night.

"The next day they went into Dungannon Mic Caribaid, where Hugh O'Neill was. He was glad of the coming of his guest, and he brought him without delay to a private chamber secretly without being perceived by anyone in the castle, except some of his trustworthy people who attended on and entertained him, because Hugh O'Neill was still in the Queen's service. . . . Hugh Roe remained four days with O'Neill in Dungannon to recover from the fatigue and hardships of his journey, then the Earl sent a troop of horse with him to protect him till he reached Enniskillen, the residence of his cousin Hugh Maguire." There the stout rowers of Maguire's galley bore their charge onward in safety, past Erne's hundred isles to the point where lough narrows to river, there a band of horsemen awaited his coming, and carried him to his father's castle of Ballyshannon, and thus Red Hugh came home, home to his own green-vallied mountain-studded land, Tir Connail. Here he remained under cure for two months, but the physicians had to amputate his two great toes which had been frostbitten on that terrible night spent in the Wicklow mountains.

The 3rd of May, 1502, was the proudest day in the life of Ineen Duff O'Donnell—the day for which she had striven, and fought, and imbued her hands in blood, for MacDonnell's dark daughter, the

fierce eagle of the Isles, was determined that her son Hugh and none other should be chief of the mountain land. So on this fair May morn there gathered all the clans that owned O'Donnell's sway, from the Lake of Shadows to the Bay of Donegal; MacSwines, O'Fieils, O'Gallaghers and O'Donnells; to Kilmacrenan where lay the flagstone of the kings they came. There Sir Hugh O'Donnell, now grown old and feeble, resigned the chieftainship, and his son Hugh Roe, then in his twentieth year, was inaugurated in his stead, "as noble a chief, as stout a warrior, as ever bore the wand of chieftaincy, or led a clan to battle."

As a result of the hardships that he had undergone Hugh Roe continued in ill health during the summer of that year, but the politic and far-seeing Tyrone finding that the O'Neills, all but a few, were against Hugh Roe and the O'Donnells, and at the same time to retain the favour of the Government in the arrangement of his disputes with Turlogh Lynagh, in the language of Red Hugh's biographer "went from the Dun of Genann, son of Cathbad, north-west exactly till he came to Donegal where O'Donnell was sick. Him he persuaded to meet the Lord Deputy at Dundalk and make his submission. This Hugh Roe was most reluctant to do but yielded as a matter of policy. They returned by way of Dungannon where they feasted and enjoyed themselves until Hugh thought it time to go away. He went his way till he came to Donegal where he remained in his sick bed as he had now no fear, having entered into peace and friendship with the Lord Deputy" [Fitzwilliam].

The Earl and Hugh Roe O'Donnell were now in amity with the Government, but friction still continued betwixt them and Turlogh Lynagh, for Turlogh had supported the opposite faction in Tirconnel, and was also now obedient to the English government, therefore it was for these reasons the O'Donnell made his chieftain's raid, i.e., his first feat of arms on the occasion of his accession, against Turlogh Lynagh. He also took up his residence at Lifford in order to harass O'Neill, now an old man, and drive him to resign the chieftainship so that Tyrone might be inaugurated in his place. Under these conditions Turlogh Lynagh, unable to resist the pressure of both Tyrone and O'Donnell, thought it wiser to abdicate in his rival's favour. This was done in May, 1593, and Hugh O'Neill had now all Tyrone and the neighbouring tributary chiefs at his command.

In pursuance of his policy of making himself as independent a ruler of his territory as Con More, or Con Bacagh had been before his submission, he proceeded to train the people of his territory in the use of arms. As captain of his country he commanded a company of soldiers in the Queen's pay, made up of his own followers. This company as soon as they were perfect in military exercise he changed, putting new untrained men in their place until he had all the men

of fighting age thoroughly disciplined, so that the history of Dungannon as a militia centre goes back to the sixteenth century.

The object of Hugh O'Neill's plans being now to a great extent achieved, a further development of his policy took place. According to information sent by Patrick MacArt Moyle (MacMahon) there was an important meeting held at Dungannon, at which were present Tyrone's brother, Cormac MacBaron, Brian MacHugh Oge, MacMahon Tyrone, O'Donnell, and Primate MacGauran. At this meeting Maguire took an oath to join with the Spanish forces which the titular Primate had promised. There is no date to MacMahon's information, but it is probable that it was in pursuance of this policy that Maguire made his raid into Connaught, into which he penetrated as far as Roscommon, where he came in contact with Sir Richard Bingham. The English party were outnumbered and Maguire drove off a great spoil of cattle, but in the running fight that followed, MacGauran, who had accompanied the expedition, was killed.

Until his plans were perfected it was Tyrone's policy to keep on friendly terms with the Government, accordingly when in the month of September (1593) Maguire turned his attention to Monaghan, and the Deputy found it necessary to make a display of force. Tyrone was joined in command with Bagenal in putting down the rebellion, in course of which he was wounded in the thigh, and it was one of the Earl's grievances that Bagenal got more than his due share of credit. He believed, or affected to believe that Bagenal had orders from the Lord Deputy for his arrest, and wounded as he was withdrew to Dungannon out of harm's way. This was his last service to the Crown during Elizabeth's lifetime, and to all appearance was rendered with reluctance.

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Fitzwilliam wrote to Burghley 13 July, 1593, that all Ulster was at Tyrone's command, so he put the best face he could on the matter and appointed Cormac, the Earl's brother, Sheriff of Tyrone, and Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, his son-in-law, Sheriff of Armagh, but as Sir George Carew wrote, there is "great probability of Tyrone's rebellion which will cost the Queen more crowns than any that has been yet attempted. He is the best man of war of his nation, having had his education in our discipline, and being naturally valiant." A spy writing from Dungannon 12 March, 1594-5, gives an account of a conference between the Earl, his brother Cormac and O'Donnell. The Government, in view of these movements, employed the good offices of the Earl of Ormond, who wrote to Tyrone advising him to be a loyal and dutiful subject to her Majesty, and the Earl not to be outdone in civility, replied from Dungannon, thanking him for his good advice, and promising to live dutifully.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, now an old done man, at length got leave to resign, and the new Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, ar-

rived in Dublin, 1st August, 1594. The Knight Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenal did not permit the grass to grow under his feet, as on August 17th he preferred a long list of informations against the Earl of Tyrone. One of these, that numbered 13, was—"On 5 August the Earl, since he had knowledge of your Lordship's arrival, came to a town called Carnteel in Tyrone, and went from thence to his brother Cormac's town called Augher, where he met with Cormac and O'Donnell."

The Deputy and Council considered the articles the same day and "It was resolved for weighty considerations touching her Majesty's service, that the Earl should not be charged with the said Articles this time but to be deferred to a more fit time."

Prompt as Bagenal had been, Tyrone, who was well served with information of everything going on, particularly if it touched himself, was ahead of him as he arrived in Dublin on 15 August, when he sent in a written submission, and two days later, the day that Bagenal's charges were sent in he petitioned the Lord Deputy sitting in Council, hence the resolution recorded in the preceding paragraph. Tyrone was most submissive and profuse in his promises, so he was permitted to return to Dungannon instead of being placed in confinement, as would have been the fate of a less astute politician.

CHAPTER VIII.

1594—1596.

Tyrone's narrow escape from detention ; Ulster in rebellion ; the Lord Deputy invades Ulster ; O'Neill demolishes his great house at Dungannon ; Brian of the battleaxes.

The Earl of Tyrone having got safely away from Dublin, fulfilled none of the promises of which he had been so lavish when there, and although kept well posted both by his friends at the Council board and officials had a much narrower escape than what he was aware of, as disclosed by a private letter from the Queen herself to the Lord Deputy. To anyone familiar with the Irish State Papers it is not surprising, and for underhand dealing it would be hard to beat, yet it shows that Elizabeth had formed a much truer estimate of Hugh O'Neill and his activities than most of her ministers and officials. This is the gist of the letter dated 31st October, 1594. . . . "We enjoined you not to dismiss the Earl if once he came to you till our pleasure were known, and did not expect that any persuasion of the Council would have altered that which from us you had received.

We hold it strange that in all this space [of time] you have not

used some underhand way to bring in the Earl; and we think that by setting division in his country, wherein full many there are which would be glad to be maintained against him, and by other sound means he may be disabled and reduced to conformity, which were more honourable to us and commendable in you than to be put to trouble for such a base person." (Cal. Car MSS. p. 101).

Although profitless it is certainly interesting to speculate on what would have been the fortunes of Ulster, had Sir William Russell carried out his instructions and detained the Earl of Tyrone a prisoner. Lacking the leadership of Hugh O'Neill, the remaining Ulster chiefs would have been like the beads of a necklace minus the cord, and thus lacking in unity it would have been an easy matter for the Government to reduce them singly to submission, instead of being as they were, on the eve of the great Tyrone war.

By the end of the year 1594 the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between the Earl of Tyrone and the Government, may be said to have ceased. Ostensibly he still kept the peace, but the activities of his brother Cormac, his support of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne and other treasonable practices were well known to the Lord Deputy and Council, who became alarmed at so many rumours and signs of coming disturbance, and at their request a force of 3,000 men was sent over under the command of Sir John Norris.

O'Neill anticipated the arrival of the English reinforcements by striking first. Early in the spring of 1595 his half brother Art, captured the fort at Blackwater which was but slenderly held. Between this time and the landing of Sir John Norris and his army at Waterford (4 May, 1595), the Earl of Tyrone went into rebellion.

"Look forth, look forth Dungannon! saw ye ever such a sight?
Here are true hearts and manly swords, for Erin vowed to fight;
From deer-trod hill and pasture land, where the flocks are winding
slow,

From the blue hills of Tir-owen and the lakelands of the Roe."

The issue was now fairly knit, and long before Norris and his army could reach the North, Tyrone had invaded Louth which he burned up to the walls of Drogheda, and while Russell waited at Dublin for Norris, Maguire had recaptured Enniskillen, and on 24 June, 1595, Tyrone was proclaimed a traitor at Dundalk. O'Neill's forces at the outbreak of the rebellion were better trained than the English army and well supplied with both arms and ammunition. In proof of this Sir John Norris says that "1,700 of the best footmen in Ireland, and near 300 horse at the Newry, they dare not undertake to march thence to Dundalk, which is but eight miles, and the way not very ill, but that they were fain to be sent by water."

On the 18th June (1595) the Lord Deputy set out from Dundalk:

against Tyrone and O'Donnell, and came to Armagh on the 30th June, to find the town and abbey burned by the rebels and nothing left but the Cathedral Church. From thence the army drew near to the Blackwater, with the intention of crossing the river and capturing Dungannon if opportunity should serve. The Earl of Tyrone showed himself with all his forces on both sides of the river, and the second day of the English army's encamping at the Blackwater, he fired the houses of all his special gentlemen and followers to prevent their being made use of by the enemy, not sparing Dungannon itself, and he also razed to the ground the castle as well. O'Neill's first intention had been to fortify the castle, and some four days before the Lord Deputy's arrival had gathered together all the masons of the country, intending to have fortified it in the strongest manner. A considerable time previous to this he had made great ditches and ramparts about it, by, it was said, the advice of a Spaniard he had with him. Some traces of these old ramparts are yet visible on the castle hill. O'Neill, however, changed his mind, and the masons who had been assembled for the purpose of building up the castle were employed to demolish it instead, so "that the same overnight mustering very stately and high in the sight of all our army, the next day by noon it was so low that it could scarcely be discerned; which eased the army of a great deal of trouble and her Majesty of great charge, that otherwise must have been in transporting the cannon which was already brought to the Newrie by sea over the Blackwater by land."

O'Neill's house or castle at Dungannon was a handsomer house than was common in this country at that time, and in 1595 another writer states it looked so imposing that it could be seen at Armagh twelve miles away. Doubtless the Earl of Tyrone knew his own business best, but in the light of after events the demolition of his new house at Dungannon was a mistake for this reason—the Lord Deputy and his army, or a considerable portion of it at any rate had advanced so far as the Blackwater fort, with O'Neill and his army on the other side, and the country between the Fort and Dungannon was thickly wooded, so that for the English army to advance with their "great artilleries" through these woods swarming with well trained and well armed Irish soldiers would indeed have been a 'passage perilous.' We know how roughly Lord Burgh was handled a couple of years later, and what happened at the Yellow Ford in much more open country between Armagh and Blackwater.

It was in anticipation of the coming struggle that Tyrone imported great quantities of lead for the roofing of his great house at Dungannon, but which was used for casting bullets and thatch used instead. At this time the Earl kept his powder and military stores

in the stronghold that he had in *Marlacoo lough (Co. Armagh) doubtless in charge of his fosterers the O'Hagans, as earlier in his career he had settled both O'Hagans and O'Quinns in O'Neill and indeed a little later (26 August, 1595) during a parley, Tyrone put in as pledges his son Con Mac an Earl, and Art Bradagh O'Hagan. Another island stronghold of which he made considerable use was situated in Roughan lough, it was here that he kept as prisoners Henry Oge and Con MacShane.

Turlogh Lynagh died about the first week in September, 1595, and the Earl lost no time in going to the stone at Tullahog to have himself formally inaugurated O'Neill. His brother-in-law, Sir Henry Bagenal, very kindly writes to Burghley from Newry (Sept. 9th and 12th), "Old O'Neill is dead and the traitor is gone to the stone to receive the name." This added nothing to his power, as he was already Captain of Tyrone, whatever being formally made the O'Neill may have added to his dignity and authority in the eyes of the clan, and he had already promised not to seek or take the title of O'Neill. The cause of this alteration in his conduct has been variously accounted for, but an old tradition that was current in the country attributes it wholly to the interference of a supernatural agent. According to this legend, for three nights previous to the calling of the assembly, the Banshee, or guardian spirit of the family, was heard in his Castle of Dungannon upbraiding him with his submission, conjuring him to throw aside the alien title with which his enemies had branded him, and promising him assistance.

Whatever may be its historical value, the foregoing tradition is interesting in connection with our subject and quite in keeping with the beliefs of the period.

Maoveen (little Maeve or Mab) is the name of the famous O'Neill banshee, literally a female fairy or spirit.

All the great Irish families, as the O'Donnells, O'Briens, O'Gradys, Kavanaghs and many others had each their family banshee.

"And whereso'er a scion of those great old houses be,
In the country of his fathers, or the land beyond the sea;
In city, or in hamlet, by the valley, on the hill,
The spirit of his ancestors is watching o'er him still."

We get another glimpse of the life of the time in the "Examination of Piers O'Cullan, of Clogher, County Tyrone, Priest," taken at Drogheda, 29 September, 1595, where he says—"coming to Dublin departed presently northwards to the Earl of Tirone, being then at Magheralecoo, and newly calling himself O'Neale it being

* Marlacoo lough. Besides the townlands of Marlacoo-more and Beg there is the townland of Teemore—big house. Part of the lough is in the eastern portion of this townland.

Thursday the 18th September. He had direction from the Earl himself to go that night to the Earl's house of Dungannon to Monford, where he found both him and the Countess, and with him the next morning Monford returned to the Earl."

As yet there had been no serious fighting, Tyrone and O'Donnell spinning out the time in endless negotiations with Government officials, while all the time in expectation of receiving substantial help from Philip II of Spain. Early in the year 1596 a Spanish ship had put into Killybegs harbour where munitions were landed for O'Donnell, but the Spanish messenger, Alonso de Cobos came forty miles by land to see Tyrone, who took care to see him only in the presence of such trusted confederates as his brother Cormac, his secretary, Henry Hovenden, O'Donnell, O'Dogherty, his Seneschal, O'Hagan, and Art O'Hagan. The meeting probably took place at O'Donnell's castle of Lifford, as Tyrone as soon as he received news of the Spaniards' arrival, went off by from Dungannon to meet him accompanied by a bodyguard of one hundred shot. These were soldiers armed with matchlocks, most of the fighting men of the Irish chiefs were armed with bows and arrows which were much inferior in carrying power to even the clumsy firearms of that day; spears, which were light and thrown from a distance, or the sparth, or battle-axe which in the hands of a powerful Irish gallowglas would split a man in halves. There was at this time a compatriot of O'Neill's known as Brian of the Battleaxes, son of Brian na murtha (of the ramparts) O'Rourke, the proudest man in Ireland in his day, and his son Brian (of the battleaxes) who succeeded as chief of Breffney O'Rourke had a famous company of battleaxe men who won the battle of the Curlew mountains, and annihilated Clifford's army for Red Hugh O'Donnell. As a little spark may light a great fire it was an earlier raid of this Brian O'Rourke into Connaught which stirred up Maguire to emulation, and it was in assisting Bagenal to quell Maguire's rebellion that Tyrone with reluctance performed his last service to Queen Elizabeth, but it was O'Rourke's action in those combustible provinces known as Ulster and Connaught, that started the conflagration known as the Nine Years' War.

What has been recorded of this struggle were merely the feints and passes of the swordsmen on either side, neither being yet quite prepared to become locked in what was to be a life and death struggle. After endless parleys and negotiations Tyrone made a submission of sorts and was granted her Majesty's pardon, dated 12 May, 1596, which reached him some time later. O'Neill was nothing if not polite and gracious, so he received it most dutifully; there was great rejoicing and he caused a great volley of shot to be discharged in honour of the occasion.

CHAPTER IX.

1596—1599.

The manufacture of arms at Dungannon ; Lord Burgh makes an expedition to the north ; the fighting at Blackwater. Tyrone makes submission and arranges for two months' truce ; Dungannon on the eve of the battle of the Yellow Ford ; Tyrone's victory.

After Tyrone accepted his pardon he remained tolerably quiet for a time, and being dominant over a great part of Ulster none of the lesser chiefs were in a position to give trouble. Hugh Roe O'Donnell who was all powerful in Tirconnell, was also master of the greater part of Connaught, anyone who resisted his authority being scourged into submission. If the government had their spies and talebearers "clashbags" is the expressive Ulster word for these gentry, the Earl of Tyrone was equally well served as there was nothing said or done at the Council table but the Earl had intelligence of it, as well as anything of the government's intentions that was known to his friends amongst the nobility of the Pale.

That Tyrone's authority over his urraghs, or tributary chiefs was no dead letter is shown by a report from Captain James Fitzgarrett on 12th August, 1596, in which he says that he (Fitzgarrett) and the High Sheriff of Lecale (County Down) went from Newry towards Dungannon to seek the release of two men who were taken prisoners by the MacCartans. While at Dungannon it was certainly affirmed that the Earl had £2,000 worth of powder and munitions, and he saw at Dungannon Scottishmen making calivers and fowling pieces.

In the following month (27 September, 1596) Spaniards were landed from nine ships at Inishowen. On intelligence of this reaching the Earl he rode off post haste, but before his departure made a proclamation in Dungannon that, upon the pain of death no man should say anything of the ships that were come for they were but Scottish.

After the fort at Blackwater, now in his possession, Tyrone's greatest objection was to the English garrison at Armagh, which served as a curb on his activities, and during the winter tried to surprise this post. At Christmas he threatened his brother-in-laws' town of Newry with 5,000 men, but on the arrival of Sir John Norris there he allowed Armagh to be revictualled.

Sir William Russell, the Lord Deputy, worn out in body and mind was succeeded in the chief governorship by Lord Burgh, who arrived in the month of May, 1597. Early in July, the new Lord Deputy

made an expedition to the north. Writing from his camp at Newry on 12th July, 1597, to Sir Robert Cecil, he says: "This day, God willing, I will march so far as to-morrow I will lodge on the Blackwater; and so I hope to work all night, as the next morning to 'beat* the Diana' in the proud traitors fort which he hath made upon the ford." The Lord Deputy was fortunate in reaching the Blackwater without being attacked, and captured by surprise at daybreak the fort which Tyrone had erected on the northern bank of the river. Next day O'Neill made a strenuous effort to regain the position, and when Burgh had on "Friday assembled most of his soldiers to hear a sermon and pray to God" his outposts were sharply attacked. A lieutenant with a party of shot was ordered to drive the enemy from the bog and wood side, but being unable to effect this the Lord Deputy sent Captain Turner with a body of horse across the ford to make their way up the Armagh side of the river towards Benburb, the intention being to force the enemy from the ground by attacking them in the rear; Captain Turner's instructions being that if he found the ground suitable to pass forward to the pass behind Benburb but to be sure and preserve an open line of retreat. This in the ardour of combat the Camp master forgot with the result that he endangered the whole army and it took Burgh's utmost exertions to save the situation, not however without losing many officers and gentlemen volunteers.

On the sketch map from which the plan of Dungannon fort is taken which forms the frontispiece, this pass is shown as well as a second pass between Benburb and Dungannon. It may have been made in connection with these operations but it is bound up in a volume of State Papers for 1598.

While the Lord Deputy was retrieving the fortune of the battle, he left the camp in charge of Sir Henry Bagenal, whom in a later despatch he commends as a "careful and good officer to her Majesty."

"On Sunday night [15th July, 1597] he [Lord Burgh] gave orders to some of Marshal Bagenal's horsemen who were acquainted with the country, to dismount and burn Dungannon town and all the rebels' mills, which exploit, to the great annoyance of the Earl of Tyrone was executed, and the party returned safely." Burgh in this despatch, is evidently making what little capital he can out of what was a really disastrous expedition in which his army was very roughly handled by O'Neill, and with the woods and passes swarming with Tyrone's soldiers it is not at all probable that Bagenal's dismounted horsemen did much harm.

The Lord Deputy had intended to penetrate further into Tyrone

* To beat the Diana. "Diana" was the name of a tune popular at this time. In a MS. volume of the time of Elizabeth or James I., in the British Museum, No 15,225, there is "A Song made by F.B.P. to the tune of 'Diana.'"

and perhaps plant a garrison at Dungannon, but lack of provisions prevented him making any further effort, as at the time of his return he had not a single head of cattle left. He therefore dislodged from the fort on the 2 August, 1597, leaving what men and munitions he could afford, and marched to Newry there to await the expected supplies out of the Pale. "Till they come," says Fenton, "his Lordship is driven to feed his army with biscuit and good words."

After considerable difficulty and some delay the much needed help enabled Burgh to revictual and reinforce the Blackwater fort, but the Lord Deputy made the strategical mistake of abandoning Armagh, which had been garrisoned up till this time and provided a suitable halfway house between Newry and the Blackwater. Meantime in the intervals of fighting Tyrone kept the Government officials amused with negotiations which were merely intended to gain time until the arrival of the hoped for succour from Spain, and as soon as the Lord Deputy's back was turned he besieged the Blackwater Fort. On hearing of the investment of the post Lord Burgh as soon as possible proceeded to its relief, but when he reached Armagh (6 October, 1597) he fell dangerously sick of an Irish ague, but dauntlessly pressed on and achieved his object. It had been the Lord Deputy's object to penetrate much farther into O'Neill's country, but his sickness increased so much that he was obliged to return to Armagh in a litter, and thence to Newry, where he died 13 October, 1597, leaving O'Neill and O'Donnell as far from being subdued as ever.

During the interregnum that intervened before the appointment of a new Lord Deputy, the supreme military command in Ireland was conferred on Ormonde. Him Tyrone had no objection to meeting, and for this purpose sought an interview at Dundalk 22 December, 1597, where he made the usual humble submission and acknowledged with the usual regrets his late relapse and defection. There were the customary contracts and obligations, and Tyrone's request for a two months' truce was agreed to. Bagenal writing to Fenton on 12 January, 1597-8 had but small news to impart—"Tyrone is returned to Dungannon and has dispersed his forces. He holds the truce in reasonable good manner . . . the full proportion of victuals for Blackwater fort is already sent thither.

The so-called fort at Blackwater was but an entrenchment intended to shelter 100 men. Lord Burgh had left 300 men there, and sickness was the result of this overcrowding. The truce expired 7 June, 1598, and once more the fort was besieged, Tyrone swearing that he would never leave it untaken. By the month of July the garrison were in dire straits, when the Government decided to send an expedition for their relief. Meantime, Tyrone, who was as efficiently served by his spies as the Government were by theirs, was

aware of the force being mustered against him, and in addition to maintaining a strict blockade around the doomed stronghold, made great slashes between Armagh and Blackwater, sunk holes in all the fords and threw up a trench where he intended to make his principal stand.

Dungannon, of which an unpublished sketch forms the frontispiece of the present volume, must have been an exciting place to live in during the month of August, 1598, when Tyrone summoned his urraghs and his allies to his aid. There came at his call O'Hanlon of Oriel, hereditary standard bearer of Ulster, James M'Sorley [MacDonnell] of Antrim, Magennis of Down, Maguire of Fermanagh and MacMahon of Monaghan, with all the lesser chieftains who followed their rising out. There too with speed came his trusty confederate, Red Hugh O'Donnell, bringing M'William with 1,000 Connaught clansmen and 1,000 of the fighting men of Tirconnell. Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who was no stranger to Dungannon, was the most dashing guerilla leader of his time and one of the most remarkable men that Ireland has produced. O'Mooney, who most probably had personal knowledge of Hugh Roe, describes him as being of middle height, ruddy, of comely face, and beautiful to behold his voice like the music of a silver trumpet. His morals were unimpeachable. The "Four Masters" say—"the look of amiability on his countenance captivated everyone who beheld him.

The month of July had passed and August was passing as well, but no succour reached the beleaguered fort, yet Williams and his men held grimly on, vainly watching for the longed for aid, when early on Monday, 14 August (1598) the welcome sound of cannon announced that a battle was being fought by the army that was at last advancing to their relief. The slackening of the encircling ring of the besiegers, the hurrying of men to the front, told to their experienced eyes the story plainly enough, as they stood in that ruined earthwork above the river Blackwater, and gazed across the hills of Armagh eagerly trying to make out the fortune of the fight. The men of the garrison were far too faint with hunger and feeble from sickness to sally forth and attack O'Neill in the rear, thus creating a diversion in favour of their deliverers; they could only remain at their post and wait and hope.

The battle of the Yellow Ford has often been described and needs no repetition in this history. Sir Henry Bagenal, Tyrone's brother-in-law and bitter enemy, who commanded the relieving force, was slain and the English army utterly routed. The shattered remains of the defeated force lying at Armagh was only able to return to the Pale by the goodwill of Tyrone. The undaunted Williams, despite the untoward issue of the battle, refused to surrender the fort, which he held for two days after the fight, until informed of the ar-

rangement made with the Earl of Tyrone, when, in accordance with its terms he yielded up the place and with his men joined their comrades at Armagh.

Tyrone levelled the defences of the fort and for the next two years was the uncrowned King of Celtic Ireland. Mabel Bagenal did not live to witness the fall of her brother fighting against her husband, having died in the spring of 1596.

The office of Lord Deputy left vacant by the death of Lord Burgh in 1597 was not filled until Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex, came to Ireland in the spring of 1599, with the higher title of Lord Lieutenant, and more ample powers than any of this immediate predecessors. How Tyrone outmanoeuvred him in the field and outwitted him in diplomacy belongs to the general history of Ireland.

CHAPTER X.

1600—1601.

Mountjoy arrives in Ireland ; Ormonde captured by the rebels ; Hugh Roe makes a new Maguire ; Dowcra establishes himself at Derry ; help arrives from Spain ; Mountjoy's plan of campaign.

When in the month of September, 1599, the Earl of Essex deserted his post and made his fateful journey to England, the government of Ireland remained in the hands of the Lords Justices for some months. At length on an afternoon in February, 1600, the new Lord Deputy, accompanied by Sir George Carew, President of Munster, landed at the hill of Howth, and lodged that night at Lord Howth's house. Next day Mountjoy, accompanied by his colleague, rode to Dublin to receive the sword of State, and where the Council duly informed them of the miserable state of the country almost the whole island being under the sway of Tyrone and his ally, Hugh Roe O'Donnell. O'Neill was at this time in Munster with a strong force, but while Carew was detained in Dublin with Mountjoy and the Council, he, with a portion of his force, hurriedly returned north to Dungannon, from whence we find a spy writing

" You shall understand that I came to Dungannon on Wednesday last (19 March, 1600). Tyrone is here as I wrote. Finninge M'Arty's pledges are now with Tyrone at Dungannon and other pledges of that country." Tyrone when in Munster had been settling family quarrels between the M'Carthys, and for their loyalty and adhesion to his awards had taken pledges in the usual way. A much more important hostage was captured by Owen M'Rory

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(O'More) in the month of April. This was no less a personage than the Earl of Ormonde, who, going incautiously to a parley with O'More, without a sufficient escort, was captured, and Sir George Carew, the Lord President of Munster, who accompanied him, only escaped with the greatest difficulty. O'More was an ally of the Earl of Tyrone, who at once saw what a trump card it would be to get the great southern potentate into his hands. 'Use him honourably,' he wrote, from Dungannon, 'but keep him very sure until he can be sent hither by the help of yourself and such as we have appointed for that purpose. Therefore be not tempted to enlarge him upon any proffer, for if you will desire ransom you shall have money and gold at my hands.'

O'More had no intention of surrendering his distinguished prisoner who was released after two months' detention, having delivered hostages into M'Rory's hands for the payment of a ransom of £3,000.

When Tyrone hastily quitted the south of Ireland upon the arrival of Mountjoy as Lord Deputy, he left behind him about 1,800 men in Munster, under his son-in-law, Hugh Maguire, who, on or about the last day of February (1600) made a raid in the immediate neighbourhood of Cork. Sir Warham St. Ledger and Sir Henry Power, the acting Commissioners for Munster, went for a ride accompanied by a small body of men, who were marching at ease in loose order when they came in contact with Maguire's party. St. Ledger drew a dagg or pistol and shot Maguire through the body, but the latter had still strength enough left to give his adversary a mortal wound with a half pike. The death of Maguire was not only a great personal loss to Tyrone, but the vacancy thus left in the chieftanship of Fermanagh was sure to give rise to quarrels within the clan of which the English would not be slow to take advantage. There were two candidates for the dignity of Maguire. These were Conor Roe, son of Conor Maguire, and Cuconnaught Oge. Conor applied to Hugh O'Neill to inaugurate him in the chieftanship, but the latter not wishing to arouse the anger of Hugh Roe by appointing anyone contrary to his wishes, as both O'Neill and O'Donnell at one time or another, claimed and exercised the overlordship of Fermanagh, sent messengers to O'Donnell inviting him to a conference so that the matter might be amicably settled. As this is the most graphic account of a banquet and political meeting combined which was held in Dungannon in the olden time, we cannot do better than give it in the words of Lughaidh O'Clery, the biographer of Red Hugh O'Donnell:

"When O'Neill's messengers reached Hugh Roe, he went with a select body of his troops accompanied by his brother Rory and Cuconnaught Oge Maguire, and did not halt till they came to

where O'Neill was with his chief men round him taking counsel on the same subject. When he dismounted at the lawn of the castle, he ordered his attendants to remain together in one close group apart from them. O'Neill sent his people and his trusty men to entertain the prince who had come and to invite him to make known his opinion, to see if he could succeed in alluring him craftily to one opinion with himself. He came immediately, and they were merry and confiding one in the other. When O'Donnell was seated in the company of O'Neill, he proceeded to declare and make known to O'Donnell the question and the business as well as he could, and to set out distinctly every reason which had occurred to his mind why it was right to give Conor Maguire the title of chief. After listening for some time in silence to the Prince O'Neill, he said that it was not his wish at all to appoint Conor to the Chieftaincy, for he was on the side of the party of the English of Dublin, and with the foreign race who were by nature opposed to the Irish of the province, and he would not be a party to its subjugation as long as he lived. O'Neill's mind was not pleased with the answer which O'Donnell gave him, for he knew it was not easy to oppose or contradict him in whatever subject he set his hand to.

The princes proceeded to feast and to drink after that. They seated themselves in the banqueting hall according to their dignity, O'Donnell face to face with O'Neill, and Conor Maguire next him, and the chief men in their due order also. The butlers proceeded to attend and serve them after a while. Meantime when O'Neill took the goblet with wine in his hand, he drank a draught to O'Donnell. O'Donnell took the cup from the butler's hand, and looked aside, and gave a quick glance of his keen eye through the hall all round. He did not see Cuconach in the house, and as he did not see him he ordered him to be called to him immediately. This was done for him, and when he came he bade him sit by the side of his brother Rury in the place of honour of the palace in the midst of the people. When Cuconach was seated he drank to him the bowl that was in his hand to the bottom, and gave him the title of Maguire in the presence of the chief men of the province universally, without the permission or advice of any one who did not like that he should be appointed in the place of his brother and father before. They passed the night, some of them merrily and pleasantly and others with sad thoughts and doubts, in consequence of the appointment we have mentioned. When the day shone out with full light on the morrow O'Donnell took leave of O'Neill and his chief men also, and he and Maguire with their people went to their homes glad and in high spirits.

In pursuance of the government's policy Sir Henry Dowera with a strong force proceeded to establish himself at Derry in the

month of May, 1600. In this position he could act as a check on Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell. To prevent O'Neill's forces being directed against Downra before he was in a position to stand a siege, Mountjoy himself moved northwards at the same time, and Tyrone who lay with his forces before Strabane upon notice of Mountjoy being at the Newry, rose presently and on the 13th May came to Dungannon, on the 14th brake down the fort of Blackwater, the next day he drew to Loughbrickland . . . !'

There was some sharp fighting between the two forces, but Mountjoy waited at Newry till he heard that Derry was safe and then returned to Dublin. Tyrone and O'Donnell with about 5,000 men threatened the new settlement at Derry, but the garrison stood fast and nothing was done.

In the month of November (1600) two Spanish ships put into Broadhaven with money, arms, and ammunition, for the Irish O'Donnell sent the foreigners word that Killybegs would be a better place for them, and also announced their arrival to Tyrone. At length the Spaniards put into the little harbour of Teelin, whence the cargo was carried to Donegal, and divided between the two chiefs.

Having now got his war chest replenished, Tyrone made a proclamation (about December) at Dungannon and Armagh that any soldiers who would come to serve him would receive pay. With regard to the treasure sent a spy writes to Sir Geofrey Fenton from Dungannon, 22 January, 1600-1: "Assure yourself there is very near 40,000 crowns come out of Spain, the truth whereof I could not discover till now. The money is dispersed for Munster, Connaught and Leinster, and O'Donnell and Tyrone hath a third part of the whole. There came two horse loads of silver to Dungannon yesternight on Tyrone's part, and he hath given proclamation that that money shall pass through all the country as other money on pain of death." Fenton when sending on this report to Sir Robert Cecil enclosed a piece of the Spanish money, and asked that it be tested whether it was counterfeit or not, and stated that he would circulate rumours that the silver was not good but forged.

Mountjoy having attended to the various matters requiring his attention during the winter of 1600 and spring of 1601, set out for Dundalk at the end of May. He then cleared the Moyry pass and established a post there, also another which he named Mountnorris, after Sir John Norris, his master in the art of war. Before the end of June he placed a garrison of 750 foot and 100 horse in Armagh, under Sir Henry Danvers. His plan of campaign is outlined in a note of the "Disposal of the Queen's forces for this summer's (1601) . . . To plant at Armagh and Blackwater, to make a little loop skonce between them both, to see great store of hay made

in time for horses at Armagh and Mountnorris against winter, to lie all the summer close to Tyrone and perchance carry the army into his country."

In the month of July the Lord Deputy and his army marched to the Blackwater, where, after some desultory fighting, they occupied the old ruined fort. Two days after a regiment of Irish under Sir Christopher St. Lawrence marched to Benburb, "the old house of Shane O'Neill," at the entrance to great woods. They were promptly attacked by Tyrone, who was lying at Tobermason, and as it is written "there was the sorest fight for three hours that was ever in this kingdom."

For the next few days the pioneers were busy in erecting and fortifying a new fort at the Blackwater not far distant from the old one.

While the pioneers and soldiers were busied with the erection of the new fort, the Lord Deputy "sent 300 foot to occupy another hill adjoining the old fort lying beyond the water, and followed with his staff to view the position. This little expedition was attended with much danger as they were strongly attacked by O'Neill's forces, and convinced Mountjoy that O'Neill's stronghold of Dungannon was inaccessible from this point. Having seen two convoys of victuals from Newry safely deposited in the Fort, the Lord Deputy on 29th July, 1601, marched safely past the Fort on the Armagh side of the river some three miles further on, and encamped close upon the Bogs and Fastnesses (fortified passages) in the wood.

In the report of the Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council, written 9th August, 1601, from the camp near Mountnorris, after describing the amount of the enemy's corn that had been destroyed, the report goes on to say that "In ranging through the country we have, however, discovered a new way unto Dungannon which no man before could tell of, and by cutting one very broad 'pace' [passage] through a thick wood, which we performed in two days, we came to a river [the Blackwater] within four miles of Dungannon, from whence there is a 'plain open way' thither."

The opening of the new way to Dungannon lays open the principal fastness for their cattle, and although we have not taken many of their cows this summer yet have we made them keep them close together in such woods and places of strength as they are wont to reserve for them in winter, and caused them to eat the very corn they have sowed in their fastnesses, so that if they must keep them there both their cattle and themselves will starve."

On the 23rd August, 1601, the army returned to Armagh on their way homeward, and they were not to return till the following summer.

CHAPTER XI.

1601 1607.

Spaniards land at Kinsale; O'Donnell and Tyrone march south to be defeated; the Lord Deputy encamps at Dungannon; and places a garrison there; Tyrone submits; his quarrel with O'Cahan; the flight of the Earls.

It had been Mountjoy's intention to seize Dungannon and prosecute a vigorous winter campaign, for O'Neill though bridled by fortresses still held mid-Ulster in unbroken strength, and Red Hugh O'Donnell though sorely hampered by the treachery of Niall Garve, was still a menace to Connaught. The Lord Deputy and the President of Munster were with Ormonde at Kilkenny, when a messenger arrived post haste to say that the long talked of Spanish fleet had been sighted off the Old Head of Kinsale, and on the 23rd September they entered the harbour and took possession of the town. This completely changed Mountjoy's plans. He and Carew mustered their forces in all haste and at the end of three weeks encamped on the north side of Kinsale with an army of 12,000 men.

Don Juan de Aguila at once sent a message to O'Neill and O'Donnell to hasten south without delay. O'Donnell at once set off southward making a wonderful march over the Slieve Phelim mountains to avoid Carew who had been sent to intercept him, but Tyrone did not set out till early in November, arriving at Kinsale on the 21st December. The battle of Kinsale in which Tyrone and his allies were defeated is one of the landmarks in Irish history. Red Hugh O'Donnell set out for Spain to seek further help, while Tyrone journeyed back northward harassed at every step by active foes, his prestige lowered by defeat.

O'Neill remained presumably at Dungannon during the remainder of the winter and through the spring and it was not until the beginning of June, 1602, that the Lord Deputy gathered the army together and marched up the Blackwater to the passage, which the previous year, he had discovered to be the most convenient for carrying her Majesty's forces into the heart of Ulster. Here he spent some time in building a bridge across the Blackwater and a fort adjoining to guard it, which he named Charlemont. While this was being done a portion of the army was encamped on each side of the river as a precaution against attack.

On 2nd July, 1602, the Lord Deputy writing to Sir George Carew, says: "I have made a new passage over the Blackwater to the eastward of the fort I last year built, near a place called Don-

danall [Dunvally], from whence I have discovered a plain open entrance into Tyrone, free from paces [wooded passages], woods, and bogs, that when Tyrone saw me possessed thereof he presently set fire to Dungannon and fled with his Creaghts into the woods. Insomuch, as within the day after I had secured my passage, I marched to Dungannon with only 500 foot, and 100 horse, and then returned to finish the forts which I raised on both sides of the river. Which done I drew over the whole army, and the 27th June I encamped at Dungannon."

The next day Mountjoy was joined by Sir Henry Dowcra, who came with his forces from Omagh, where he had been planting a garrison, and the combined forces marched towards Lough Neagh to meet Sir Arthur Chichester who was coming across the lough from Massareene. The weather turning out very stormy rendered it impossible for Chichester to reach the rendezvous. Not to waste time the Lord Deputy encamped at Roughan lough, in which was an island strongly fortified, where O'Neill kept his prisoners and hostages. This island was captured, and in it was found one of Shane O'Neill's sons (Con), and three pieces of artillery which were a part of those captured at the Yellow Ford. The island and its fort were no sooner taken than word came that Sir Arthur Chichester had landed at the place appointed, whereupon the army marched thither and set to work on the erection of Mountjoy fort overlooking Lough Neagh.

While this was going on the Earl of Tyrone after burning Dungannon, had retreated to the fastness of Glenconkeine, with his creaghts following, which was a timely precaution, as Mountjoy carrying out the policy of the time proceeded, in his own words to "hunt all their woods, spoil their corn, burn their houses, and kill so many churls, as it grieves me to think it necessary to do it."

Such was the barbarous method of waging war, and Mountjoy was neither better nor worse than his opponents. While Red Hugh O'Donnell was lying at Moydrum in O'Meagher's country, waiting for Tyrone to join him in the relief of Kinsale, the annalist records that his people "continued plundering, burning, and ravaging the country around them so that there was no want of any necessary for an army in his camp for any period long or short."

After finishing Mountjoy and Charlemont forts the Lord Deputy proceeded to Monaghan, from whence on 10th July, 1602, he writes to the English Privy Council. . . . "We have taken his strongest island fort (Roughan island, or Cranoge), recovered some pieces of the Queen's artillery, made him quit the rest [of his country] and have utterly banished his partizans out of these parts, and, lastly, we have taken his island of Magherleecowe [Marlacoo] which next to Dungannon was his strongest place."

Towards the end of August the Lord Deputy was once more in the neighbourhood, and on the 29th of that month his Lordship passed the bridge at Charlemont over the Blackwater, and that night encamped at Dungannon, which he proceeded to put in a state of defence, and left a garrison there to keep the place, so that it would serve as a retreat to parties of men going out on service, and also to preserve the oats growing thereabouts for the use of the horses of the neighbouring garrisons during the winter. Sir Henry Dowcra was left in charge at Dungannon, having under his command 20 horse, and 150 foot.

With his country ravaged and himself driven to the inaccessible fastness of Glenconkeine, Tyrone was now at the end of his resources. There were posts and garrisons everywhere—at Toome on the Bann, at Mountjoy on Lough Neagh, at Augher, at Blackwatertown, at Charlemont, and in his own home town of Dungannon—Dowcra in the north and Chichester in the south were in possession of the land. In December, 1602, Dowcra came to Dungannon with 450 English foot and 50 horse, and with 200 O'Cahan and 100 O'Dogherty kerne. Chichester was to join with him but this movement miscarried, and Tyrone still held out in his fastnesses. Reduced though he was while O'Neill remained at large and unsubdued, he was still a force to be reckoned with in case of another Spanish invasion. The war was a huge drain on England's resources, and on the Queen's initiative the Viceroy sent Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garrett Moore to treat with Tyrone. Queen Elizabeth died 24th March, 1603, but Mountjoy who knew this on the 27th kept the news concealed, and O'Neill on 30th March, made his submission at Drogheda. On April 4th Tyrone reached Dublin with the Viceregal party, and on the 5th Sir Henry Danvers arrived from England with the official tidings of the Queen's decease. King James was at once proclaimed amid the acclamations of the people, but the great chieftain had missed the tide.

When Mountjoy crossed to England at the beginning of June, 1603, he was accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, whom his brother's death made head of the clan. They were favourably received at Court, O'Neill being made the King's Lieutenant in Tyrone and even obtained an order for £600 on the Irish Treasury. After his return in the month of August, Tyrone lived for some time at Drogheda. Notwithstanding his many submissions O'Neill set about establishing his former authority over the under chiefs of the territory, particularly O'Cahan, which soon led to friction as it was bound to do, but Mountjoy, now resident in England, remained his steady friend at Court, and on his death, 3rd April, 1606, Tyrone lost his most influential patron.

Sir Arthur Chichester who had gained experience as Governor

of Carrickfergus was sworn in as Lord Deputy 3rd February, 1604-5. He was by no means so enamoured with the Earl of Tyrone as Lord Mountjoy had become after making the acquaintance of the redoubtable northern chieftain. It was a great disappointment to many of the English officials that the territories of Tyrone and Donegal were not confiscated to the Crown, instead of Tyrone and Tyrconnell being reinstated. O'Neill's endeavours to re-establish his former authority played into their hands. In 1606 the quarrel between the Earl of Tyrone and O'Cahan broke out afresh, when in addition to Sir Henry Dowcra, Montgomery, Bishop of Derry, for his own ends, took O'Cahan's part. In pursuance of this policy Montgomery took O'Cahan with him to Dublin to lay his case before the Privy Council. As they rode through Dungannon, Tyrone's son, Hugh, came out with sixteen horsemen, to salute his lordship and escort him part of the way, and then returned home. The bishop feared that he had come to take O'Cahan from him, for which he does not seem to have had any grounds. Describing a visit in 1500 when Tyrone was at the height of his power, Sir John Harrington tells us that the earl's two sons, Hugh and Henry, were between 15 and 20 years of age, dressed in English clothes with velvet jerkins and gold lace, of good cheerful aspect, freckled, not tall but strong, well set, and acquainted with the English tongue. When Hugh O'Neill paid his courtesy to the bishop he would be a young man. O'Cahan and his sponsor after making their plaint to the Privy Council, returned north and meeting with Tyrone at Dungannon, the latter said to the bishop: "My lord, you have two or three bishoprics, and yet you are not content with them but seek the lands of my earldom." "My lord," replied the bishop, "your earldom is swollen so big with the lands of the church that it will burst if it be not vented." (Carlton's "Thankful Remembrance.")

About the middle of April, 1607, Tyrone and O'Cahan appeared before the Lord Deputy and Council for the purpose of adjusting their differences. A squabble between the parties arose at the council board and no decision was arrived at. Nothing further affecting Tyrone's relations with the state happened until August, 1607, when Chichester informed the earl that both he and O'Cahan were to go to England, where their differences would be decided by the King himself.

During the summer there had been rumours of plots and of intrigues with foreign countries by the northern chieftains, and the government was decidedly uneasy. In this atmosphere of uncertainty and suspicion Tyrone felt that if he went to England he would most likely be detained a prisoner. Meantime a ship had been procured on the continent by Maguire which put into Lough Swilly about the end of August. The earl was with Lord Deputy

Chichester at Slane on Thursday, 28th August (O.S.), conferring with him about his intended visit to England when he received information of the arrival of the ship. He left on Saturday, travelling north, passed through Armagh on Monday and continued his journey to Creeve, one of his crannoges, situated in Creeve lough in the territory of Muntir Eirn, now Minterburn, situated about two miles from Caledon. Here he halted for an entire day until he was joined by the Countess and her suite from Dungannon, and on Wednesday the party resumed their journey to Rathmullan, where the ship was lying and found Rory, Earl of Tirconnell, and his company already awaiting them. The Earl of Tyrone was accompanied by his countess and his three sons, Hugh, John, and Brian, and Art Oge, the son of Cormac MacBaron. In the hurry of departure Con, another son of Tyrone's who was at fosterage, was left behind. At midnight on the 14th September, they set sail making for the open sea, and after a perilous voyage of twenty-one days landed at Quilleboeuf in Normandy.

Against Tyrone there was nothing but hearsay rumours, and no shadow of proof has ever turned up that at the time of his flight he meditated any overt act against the state. Exiles are generally sanguine, and Tyrone hoped to return to Ireland at no distant date, but the years glided by, and he died in Rome, 20th July, 1616. Ireland preserves his memory, and the church of Montorio "by the Tiber's tawny flow" preserves his ashes. Such in brief is the story of the event known in history as "the flight of the Earls."

CHAPTER XII.

1607—1610.

Captain Leigh placed in charge of the castle of Dungannon : first Tyrone Assizes held at Dungannon : live stock and furnishings left behind by the Earl of Tyrone.

O'Neill's brother Cormac MacBaron, who resided at Augher, accompanied the earl on his flight as far as Rathmullan, then with a great show of virtue and loyalty, after the fugitives were well on their way reported the exodus to the Lord Deputy at Slane at the same time requesting the appointment of receiver. The Crown instead of granting his request, suspected him of complicity, confined him in Dublin castle and afterwards sent him to the Tower, appointing Sir Toby Caulfield as the receiver of Tyrone's rents.

The flight of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell Earl of Tirconnell, played into the hands of the government who

lost no time in having the vast territories which these chieftains ruled over, declared as forfeited to the crown, and forthwith determined on what is now known as the Ulster Plantation.

One of the first acts of the Irish executive was to place Captain Dermond Leigh, of Omagh, who was High Sheriff of County Tyrone in charge of the castle of Dungannon, with a company of 20 warders for this service, Sir Toby Caulfield afterwards disbursed out of Tyrone's rents the sum of £21, for 42 days ending the 6th November, 1607, at 6d a-piece, sterling.

Up till the departure of the earl the King's writ did not run in the County of Tyrone. Prior to that occurrence, notwithstanding the terms of his earl's patent under Elizabeth, or, the by far larger and more comprehensive terms of his submission at the accession of James I., no actual change took place in the government and administration of the territory which continued by gaelic usage as heretofore. A sheriff had been appointed during the brief Lord Deputyship of Sir George Carey, but the office was only nominal, and it was not until July, 1608, that Chichester, then in the north at Armagh, sent back to Dublin for two Commissioners under the Great Seal, one for Over and terminer and gaol delivery, the other for surveying O'Dogherty's lands.

After holding their first Assizes at Armagh they went on to Dungannon, where many rebels were brought in daily, who were executed for the most part by martial law, but some by verdict of jury. Amongst these Shane Carragh O'Cahan, the murderer of Denis O'Mullan and his brother, who was concerned in O'Dogherty's rebellion as well, being tried by common law and found guilty, was accordingly executed in camp and his head set on the castle of Dungannon, which it seems was a new experience for the people of these parts. A further sensation was caused in Dungannon by a monk who had been a principal councillor to O'Dogherty, and was taken in Burt castle, who volunteered and in the sight of all the people cast off his religious habit and renounced his obedience to the Pope: whereupon the Deputy gave him his life and liberty. The monk was shrewder than the Deputy.

While the Assizes were being held at Dungannon the Treasurer (Sir Thomas Ridgeway) and Sir John Davys, Attorney General, proceeded with the Commission of Escheat and took an Inquisition at Dungannon, whereby they surveyed all the county of Tyrone, and found all the temporal land in the county escheated to the Crown by the outlawry of the late earls (excepting two ballibetags) which were granted to Tirlogh MacHenry Oge O'Neill by the King. This was the territory of Muntirbirn granted to Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, of Kenard (see the writer's 'History of the Territory of Minterburn and Town of Caledon').

In "Certain notes of remembrance touching the plantation and settlement of the escheated lands in Ulster, September, 1608," it is stated regarding Tyrone—"In this county they hold the forts of Mountjoy, Omey, and the ruined castle of Dungannon by the King's garrison and wards." A further note is—"Downeganon [Dungannon] to be made a corporation."

In the spring of 1609 Sir Robert Jacob, the Solicitor-general, was sent on circuit to act as Judge of Assize, and he reports that "when they came to Dungannon and kept their assizes there they found that country which was wont to be the receptacle of all traitors in the best order of all Ulster. There saw not one arraigned for treason, but only some few petty felonies. All that county is in peace, and exceedingly well governed by the discreet and temperate carriage of Sir Toby Caulfield, upon whom they rely, and by whom they will be very much directed."

During the summer of 1609 the Lord Deputy (Chichester) and his attendants made a progress through Northern Ireland, and held assizes in every county through which they passed. They were at Armagh on Monday, 7th August, and having finished their business there, on the following Saturday, 12th August, they rose and passed by Charlemont on the Blackwater through woods and passes, but the hotel accommodation of Dungannon in the year 1609 was evidently not very good, as they pitched their tents within three miles of Dungannon, and began the assizes, and other business in the county of Tyrone. The 24th they marched towards Coleraine, and after holding the Derry assizes at Limavady proceeded to Donegal where they held the assizes for that county.

In the project of Plantation the Barony of Dungannon, then not divided, was allotted to Servitors and Natives, and consisted of two great proportions of 2,000 acres, one middle proportion of 1,500 acres, and seven small proportions of 1,000 acres each. The other baronies of Tyrone were allotted to Scottish Undertakers.

By the year 1610 the castle of Dungannon had probably been put into some sort of repair, as in a paper dated 30th September, John Meeke is returned as ward of Dungannon, having a constable and 12 warders, with Thomas Ledsame as porter there.

As the plantation of County Tyrone proceeded a receiver for the rents of the Earl of Tyrone gradually ceased to be required, accordingly we find Sir Toby Caulfield who had acted in that capacity making his return to the government, of "The Collection of Tyrone's rents from his flight in 1607 to 1st November, 1610, when the lands were given out to Undertakers." In this interesting document we get a great deal of information regarding the rents payable to the earl in money and kind, as well as a note of his household furnishings left behind in his residence at Dungannon.

Under the heading of "Duty, butters, oats, meal, muttons (sheep), and hogs received out of said lands."

"Butters which were so ill made after the country manner as they were scarce worth any money, yet were they sold at the rate of 15s a barrel, viz., 30 tons or thereabouts, which at £6 a ton cometh to .. Sterling £180 os od.

Oats received in the same time for the like duties, about 300 barrels at 8d a barrel .. Sterling £10 os od.

Oatmeal also received in the said time, brought in "raskans," which were 240, making by estimation 120 barrels at 3s sterling the barrel .. £18 os od.

Muttons [sheep] received in the same time, 300 at 2s sterling a-piece .. £30 os od.

Hogs likewise received at the same time 72 at 3s sterling a-piece .. £10 16s od

There was a certain amount of live stock belonging to the Countess of Tyrone, viz., 32 cows, whereof 12 were claimed by Nicholas Weston and James Magennis, who made good their claims and these were ordered to be restored. The remainder were valued at 15s a-piece. The Countess of Tyrone was one of the Magenisses of Down, so that James Magennis was a relative or retainer of hers. Plough mares with colts were valued at 5s a-piece, and heifers at 10s a-piece, steers at 13/4 a piece, and calves at 4s a-piece, while the sheep all died, consequently they yielded nothing.

The inventory of the Earl of Tyrone's stock and household furnishings is very meagre for a person of his estate and dignity, but there must be borne in mind the enormous cost of the ten years' war against England, which would have bled white a much more ample territory than that of Tyrone.

A few items from the plenishings of O'Neill's residence at the time of his flight in the year of grace, 1607, form an interesting contrast to the recent sale of the effects of the Earl of Ranfurly. Here are a few examples that may be useful to auctioneers and valuers as showing the prices of furniture in Dungannon, in the days when James I. was King:—

Two long tables, 10/-; 2 long forms, 5/-; an old bedstead, 3/-; an old trunk, 3/-; a long stool, 1/-; 8 hogsheads, 1/-; half a cwt. of hops, 30/-; 3 hogsheads of salt, £1 8s 6d; a silk jacket, 13/6; 2 iron spits, 2/-; 2 old chests, 4/-; a frying pan and a dripping pan, 3/-; 5 pewter dishes, 5/-; a box and two drinking glasses, 1/3.

A trunk, one pair of red taffeta curtains, and one other pair of green satin curtains, £4 5s od.

A brass kettle, 8/6.

A pair of cob irons, 5/0

Here is a familiar domestic touch even in the dry details of a seventeenth century inventory :—

2 baskets with broken earthen dishes and some waste spices,	2d ;
A little iron pot	1/6 ;
A great spit	1/6.

This last item helps to recall to us " The roaring board and the ready sword, types of that vanished day."

The whole of the Earl of Tyrone's goods including live stock, etc., only amounted to in all, £107 11s od, while the goods of his followers who had accompanied him were proportionately less. The most interesting list is that of Shane O'Hagan, amongst whose effects there are 4 pairs of iron hand-locks at 1/4 per pair ; a malting ladle, 3d ; 2 old cap cases, 1/6 ; an old sword, 2/6 ; an Irish harp, 10/-.

Henry O'Hagan's goods consisted of live stock only. The O'Hagans of Tullahog were Hugh O'Neill's forsterers and Henry O'Hagan acted as Tyrone's secretary.

A further interesting item is " A Spaniard that lived with Tyrone since the year 1588, and fled with him." This was undoubtedly one of the Spanish prisoners who were brought to Dungannon that year. His effects were 5 cows, 2 calves, 1 heifer, and 2 fowling pieces ; the whole amounting to £5 13s od, so that he had not attained to any great fortune in Ireland. However there is a later entry which modifies this considerably. It is as follows — " Also given to the Spaniard's wife and children all her husband's goods for their relief which are valued as before charged at sterling
£113 0s od.

The goods of the Countess of Tyrone which were valued at £35 10s od, sterling, were given to Sir Toby Caulfield in consideration of Con O'Neill for three years ending at Michaelmas 1610. This was Tyrone's son who was left behind at the time of the flight.

There are other lists and valuations in Sir Toby Caulfield's statement of accounts which are of general interest but do not bear immediately on the history of Dungannon.

CHAPTER XIII.

1610—1624.

The passing of the Gael ; Chichester obtains a grant of Dungannon ; the founding of the modern town ; made a borough ; antiquity of Thursday market ; returns two M.P.'s ; cases at the Assizes ; the surveys of 1618 and 1622.

The flight of the earls marked the close of an historical epoch. When the two great dynastic houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell ceased

to be, the natives stood in a new relation to the Crown. With the passing of Gaelic rule there also passed into the limbo of forgotten things, the Brehon laws, Tanistry, and Gavelkind. There had been a scheme of a Presidency for Ulster put forward as early as 1563, but it was put aside as impracticable until the country had been divided into shires, so as to be governed by the courts of the Presidents. It was again proposed by the Queen's Commissioners in 1596, only to be decisively rejected by O'Neill, who would not that any should be over him except her Majesty, or her Deputy.

Under the Project of Plantation the forfeited lands were divided into Precincts, which were set out in proportions of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres. Sir Arthur Chichester, then Lord Deputy, along with large grants in the counties of Antrim and Donegal, had a grant of the proportion containing the town of Dungannon, estimated as containing 1,140 acres, at a rent of £9 2s 6d English. There was also a further grant of a parcel of 500 acres, at a rent of £2 13s 4d English. The date of the patent is 9th Jac I. (4th March, 1611). The lands attached to the Friary (3rd order of Franciscans) founded by Con O'Neill in the fifteenth century had been already granted on 26th June, 1609, to Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, of Westmeath, who sold the premises. Finally after passing through a couple of hands these lands were sold to Sir Arthur Chichester, 4th January, 1610 (N.S.).

The patent contains the right to hold a Thursday market, and two fairs there yearly. The area of the township was 500 acres, and Sir Arthur was to set apart a convenient place for the site of the town, which was to be built streetways, another part for a market place; and another for a church and churchyard; 'the said borough to consist of 20 burghesses, besides cotters and other inferior inhabitants, for whom he was to build houses and assign proportions of land; and to set apart 60 acres of the said last 500a. for the common of the said town; with 2ac. more, viz., $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre for the site of a public school, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acs. for the exercise of the scholars.—To hold forever as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.'

At this time there was a small garrison maintained at Dungannon consisting of a constable, porter, and 12 warders.

In an account of the "Proceedings of the Servitors and Natives in Planting," we get quite a graphic account of the founding of the present town of Dungannon. Up till this time Dungannon had been notable as the place of residence of the O'Neills, and apart from the castle of the chief the remaining inhabitants were made up of his servants and followers, living in the usual beehive-shaped huts as shown in the frontispiece, which were the houses of the Irish at this period.

1611. September. "Co. Tyrone.—Sir Arthur Chichester, now Lord Deputy, has 600 acres about Dungannon, as a servitor, where he intends to build a castle or strong house of lime and stone, and to environ the same with a good substantial stone wall and a deep ditch, with a counterscarp of stone to hold up the earth. Has now masons and workmen to take down such remains of the decayed ruins of the old castle as are yet standing. Is preparing limestone, freestone, etc., against next spring. The town is to be made a corporation, and there are families of English and other civil men who for the present have built houses of copels, but are bound to build of cagework or stone after the English manner, and make enclosures about the town."

The Ulster Plantation being now well under weigh, and Sir Arthur Chichester making good progress in building a town at Dungannon, the next step in its history was its erection into a borough, which was done "Pursuant to letters dated at Hampton Court, 26th September, 1612, the town of Dungannon and the three parcels of land commonly called Crosse, Droughe, and Tenniskeile, lying within, or near about the town, etc. (except the castle of Dungannon with its site and precinct, and 500 feet every way) are created a free Borough, 12 free burgesses and commonalty—the Portreeve to be chosen by the Portreeve and burgesses 24th June, and sworn 29th September, etc. . . . The Portreeve and burgesses to return two members to Parliament. The Portreeve to be clerk of the market." The foregoing abstract giving the principal points is the only known charter of the borough of Dungannon.

The Boundary Commissioners (who reported in 1831) state that they were given to understand that the liberties of the town comprised "two whole townlands, viz., Drumcoo and Ranahan, a considerable portion of a third, and three pieces in three other townlands, comprising altogether 836 statute acres."

In a later "Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland (1835-36)," it is stated—"the borough comprises the townland of Drumcoo and probably part of the townland of Rahenran, but no part of Gortmerron. The denominations of Crosse, Droughe, and Tenniskeile are not known, and it is generally reputed that the townland of Drumcoo and the district mentioned in the charter are co-extensive."

In the patent of 10th May, 1587, to Hugh O'Neill there was included a grant to hold a Thursday market, and a fair on the eve, feast, and morrow of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15th August), no rent, and on the plan of Dungannon forming the frontispiece of which the original sketch in the Public Record Office is placed under the date of 1598, the market place is plainly shown, so that whatever other obligations in his patent O'Neill ignored

the market was duly established. Dungannon, therefore, can claim for its Thursday market the respectable antiquity of nearly 350 years.

When Sir Arthur Chichester got the grant of the proportion containing Dungannon and the surrounding district, the usual proviso was inserted in his patent (1611) to hold a Thursday market, and two fairs on the Monday next after the 24th June, and 29th September and the day following, rent 6/8 Irish. This is according to the *Liber Munerum* I., but in the Municipal Commissioners Report, the date of the first fair is given as the Monday after the 1st May, and the day after, which seems a more suitable date. Sir Arthur Chichester had a regrant of the markets and fairs; no rent, 20th November, 1621.

During the troubled period through which Ireland had passed in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and the early years of James I. legislation had fallen largely in arrear, accordingly the Lord Deputy resolved to summon a parliament. To this assembly which met in 1613 the Borough of Dungannon on May 2nd returned as its two members, Sir Garrett Moore, knt., of Mellifont, Co. Louth, and Sir Hugh Pollerde, or Pollard, knt. We shall not pursue the subject at present, reserving a list of the borough representatives for an appendix as the more suitable place.

By this time the country had settled fairly well under the new regime so that it was possible to discontinue a number of the forts and military posts that had been planted all over the country. Amongst these was Dungannon, as we find in a list of "Pensions allowed to Captains and Lieutenants of discharged companys, and to Constables of forts discharged," George Trevillian, late Constable of Dungannon." This list is dated 8th February, 1615.

A flutter was caused in official circles by the the discovery of the plot to rescue Con Gregy O'Neill, the young son left behind by the Earl of Tyrone in his hurried flight, then under the care of that useful servant of the government, Sir Toby Caulfield, in Charlemont Fort. One of the principal conspirators was Brian Crossagh O'Neills an illegitimate son of Cormac MacBaron, of Augher. In the examination of Dermot Oge MacDonne (3rd April, 1615) he repeats Brian Crossagh's picturesque account of his impression of the Assize, held at Dungannon in the summer of 1614. Brian said "I was at the assizes the other day, Justice Aungier was ready to revile me like a churl if I did but look away, and the other black judge would lean his head upon his hand to see if he could espy any occasion to hang me. I will not by my good will ever come among them any more."

Brian Crossagh, of Ballynegorhah, had twenty townlands, over 1,200, acres in the Barony of Dungannon. Sir Francis Aungier,

Master of the Rolls, was no doubt, in his scarlet robe, as is customary with judges to this day, sitting in the Crown, or "life and death Court," as the Irish used to call it. The judge in the black robe was probably some serjeant or King's Counsel named in the Commission to discharge the civil business of the Assizes.

The Assizes of 1615 commenced at Dungannon on March 30, before Gerard Lowther, knt., one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and John Beare, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law. A few typical cases may be given—

"That William Allett and Jocky Tallen, alias Armstronge, of Galnegore, yeoman, on the 10th December, 1614, there stole 8 sheep, each worth 3/-, the property of Patrick M'Rory: William Allett is found guilty, and says he is a clerk, whereupon John Moony the minister of Christopher, Archbishop of Armagh, appears and William Allett being branded in the left hand, is delivered to him. Pardoned."

"That Hobbie Allett, of Dongannon, yeoman, on the 20th October, 1614, at Omye, stole 2 horses, each worth £3, belonging to James M'Gilsenan, a mare worth 40/-, the property of Brien O'Ferrenan, and a horse worth 40/- the property of David Smyth. Guilty. To be executed."

"That George Sachervell, of Dongannon, clerk, on the 5th January, 1614, then entered the mansion house of Edward Bennett, gentleman, and stole 5s 6d out of a 'truncke.' Acquitted."

"That James O'Hagan, of Arrater, yeoman, on the 15th February, 1613, at Tullohagan, "in quandam Annam Clinton, spinster, etc.; insultem fecit et contra voluntatem felonice rapuit." Guilty. To be executed."

"Owin Magwyre, of Dongannon, yeoman, on the 25th March, 1610, at Ballinseggead, stole a black horse worth £12, the property of Shane O'Neale, yeoman. No verdict."

It may not be amiss to explain that the reason for stating the value of goods in indictments for larceny at this period was, that if above twelve pence it was grand larceny, the penalty for which was hanging, but if it was a "Clergyable" offence, i.e., the prisoner was entitled to the "benefit of the clergy," which by the time of Jac. I. extended to everyone who could read. In the case of laymen they could only claim the privilege once, when they were burnt with a hot iron on the brawn of the left thumb, as in the case of William Allett, to prevent their exercise of this right in case of being brought up for a second offence.

The following years found Dungannon quietly pursuing its peaceful way, and the laws being administered in due course. Thus we find from a Summonister Roll (No. 6) that at the County Tyrone Assizes held 16th September, 1618—"Recognizances entered into

before John Meeke, Justice of the Peace, 29th August, 1618, by Patrick Stanley, innkeeper, Toole O'Shevin, innholder, and Patrick Welsh, gent., all three of Dungannon, County Tyrone. That they will attend Divine Service in the Church at Dungannon whenever the Lord Treasurer shall visit Dungannon town, and if he fails to visit the town before the next Sessions that they should attend the Judges to Church."

The Lord Treasurer was Sir Arthur Chichester, then owner of Dungannon. The Recognizance was forfeited at the September Assizes, 1618.

John Meeke appears to have been a man of standing, as on 29th May, 1618, for some technical offence, we find Inrolled a "General Pardon for Sir Thomas Phillips of Limevaddy in Londonderry county, knt.—George Carie of Londonderry city, esq., and John Meeke, of Dungannon in Tyrone, esq., for a sum of £13-6-8 Irish.

It was in 1618 that Pynnar made his well known survey of the Ulster Plantation.

The report on Dungannon is as follows—"The Precinct of Dungannon. The Lord Chichester hath 1,140 acres called Dungannon.

Upon this there is built a Fort of Lime and Stone, 120 feet square, with four half Bulwarks, and a deep ditch about it 20 feet broad, and Counterscarped. There is a castle built by Captain Sandford who hath contracted for the finishing of it this summer. Upon the land without the Town there are three English Houses, being inhabited with English Men.

His Lordship is to Build a Town in Dungannon for which there is laid out 500 acres.

Upon this there is now built nine fair Stone Houses, whereof one of them hath a fair Stone Wall about it, and there are five more which are now ready to have the Roof set up. Also six strong Timber Houses built of good Cage Work, and six more of the same, which are framed and ready to be set up, and are contracting for the finishing. There are British Tenants that are for these Houses when they be built, that dwell in the Town in small Cabbins.

There is also a large Church with a Steeple, all of Lime and Stone, now ready to be covered. Besides these British Tenants within the Town (which are thirty English families), there are thirty-six Irish, which come to church and have taken the Oath of Supremacy." (Harris: Hibernica I.)

A much more detailed account of Dungannon is given in "A Brief Survey of the present Estate of the Plantacions in the Counties of Ardmagh and Tyrone, taken by the Ld. Caulfield and Sr Dudley Diggs, and Sr Nathaniell Rich, Knts. Anno Dm. 1622.

British Museum. Additional MSS. 4756.

The Precinct of Dungannon allotted to Servitors and Natives.

Arthur, Lord Chichester, hath 1640 acres called Dungannon, upon which is built a Fort or Bawne of stone and lime, 100 foot square, 14 foot high with a strong ditch about it. The Fort hath 5 half Bulwarkes, and in it a good dwelling house containing 14 Roomes, and Lodgings wherein Captain Perkins with his wife and family now dwell.

He hath also built within the Burrough at his own Charge 12 houses of lyme and stone, well slated and glazed, each house containing 6 Roomes at least, and also 8 Timber houses, of strong and handsome Cage work, which are likewise covered with slate and glazed, and within everyone of the same, substantial stone chimneys some of which houses containe 12 or 14 Roomes within, and the least house containing 6 large Roomes. To all which houses his Lordship hath annexed a garden and Backside, with 2 acres of Land with the same, and several Burgesses; In which are English and Scottish Dwellers and none else.

His Lp. hath also at his owne cost built one Church and steeple of lyme and stone, the body of the same Church containing in length 60 foot, and in breadth within the Walls, 25 foot; the steeple is twentie foot square, and fortie foot high to the Battlement.

There is also built in the said Burrough of Dungannon, at the Charge of the Inhabitants of the County of Tyrone, one Goale of lyme and stone, the Walls whereof are 4 foot thick, and 24 foot high to the Battlement, 40 foot in length, and 20 in breadth, two strong vaults planked about within, with Oaken Plankes, three inches thick, and underneath Oaken timber, and hath 4 other Rooms above, with 2 stone Chimneys; The Gutters of the vault leaded, and ye Roof shingled.

There is also in the said Burrough by the said County, one Session house builded of Timber of strong Cage Worke, containing in length 70 foot, and in breadth 40 foot framed with a double Roof, under which is a large Markett house, with a Rank of Turned Pillars through the same, over which there is a large Roome for the Judges to sitt, with 2 close roomes for ye Juriors, and Country to attend; Throughout to this house 8 large Windows, sufficiently glazed, the roof thereof shingled, and the gates [? gutters] leaded.

There are in this Towne a Provost and 12 Burgesses, and Dwellers and Freemen of the said Burrough thirtie one who with their Families do there inhabit; And they have of Irish Protestants inhabiting within the said Burrough 35."

John Perkins, who, with his wife and family resided in the house within the fort or bawn, we may assume to have been Lord Chichester's agent, or else in the Government's employment as

military commandant of the post, probably the latter. He was a man of importance in Dungannon, as in addition to being a magistrate he was High Sheriff of County Tyrone for the year 1620.

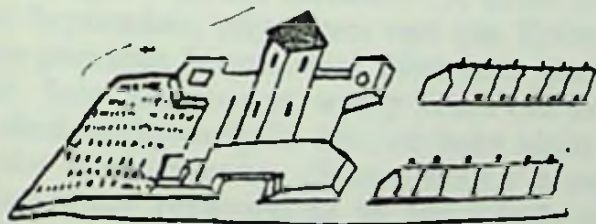
CHAPTER XIV.

1623—1643.

Gentlemen of Tyrone object to war taxation ; death of Lord Chichester ; Sir Phelim O'Neill presides at Dungannon Quarter Sessions ; the Cornwall family ; the rising of 1641 ; the rebels capture Dungannon castle ; Captain Perkins offered a command in the Irish army ; Dungannon recaptured.

Dungannon castle or fort as already mentioned, ceased to be garrisoned in 1615, but a note on the "Repairing of Forts" (September, 1623) says—"Dongannon to make it defensible against the Irish rebels. But if His Majesty shall be pleased to assign it as a seat for a President, and to the building of it will allow the next Easter and Michaelmas rents of Tirone, he will with some help of the county cause it to be built fit for the President, when His Majesty shall appoint one, which otherwise will cost His Majesty much more to build it." Nothing seems to have been done beyond the work done by Lord Chichester, described in the 1622 report (Chap XIII.).

In 1624 Nicholas Pynnar made a report on the "State of the



Forts in Ireland," (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24,200), in which is included a map of Lough Neagh and the surrounding district, the little sketch in the margin representing Dungannon.

An interesting document calendared in the State Papers (22 Sept., 1630) is a certificate to one William Poe, signed by Lord Balfour, Governor of Fermanagh, Baron Enniskillen, Francis Caprone, Provost of Dungannon, and some fifty other noblemen and gentlemen. This certificate was in reply to a complaint to the Government that Poe had "given much trouble in the Plantation." The exact nature of the trouble is not specified, but it may with a fair amount of certainty be assumed that he was a discoverer of concealed lands, and also that he was some connection of Edgar Allen Poe, the poet, whose ancestor was settled in the neighbouring county of Cavan early in the eighteenth century.

Shortly after the accession of Charles I. England fell into war with Spain, and in Ireland as elsewhere, there was considerable military activity, so that on 23rd November, 1625, we find the Lord Deputy writing to the Privy Council—"The remaining troops in Ulster which can be spared from forts I hold in readiness about Lifford and Dungannon, and will join them myself when the Spaniards land." . . . He also adds in a P.S. that he had appointed Lord Blaney to command all the forces in the north.

Dungannon had not the excitement of seeing a Spanish invasion of Ulster but felt the heavy arbitrary taxation rendered necessary by the wars. Thus at the October Sessions (9th October, 1628) the gentlemen of the County Tyrone strongly objected to paying a demand for £E. 18., presented to them by the Sheriff. The next summer, on 11th July, 1629, the Sheriff writing from Dungannon enclosed a petition from the gentlemen of Tyrone, who have refused to pay the £320 14s od asked of them. Most of the other counties strongly objected, and some of them flatly refused to pay. However, the peace of Susa and Madrid in 1629-30 put an end to levies for military purposes and permitted attention to be turned to home affairs.

Sir Arthur Chichester, who, in 1612 had been for his services created Baron Chichester, of Belfast, died without issue in 1624, and was succeeded by his brother Edward who appears to have also inherited a great portion of his brother's vast estates, and was created immediately after Lord Chichester's death Baron Belfast and Viscount Chichester.

From an Inquisition taken at Dungannon after his death we find that a large amount of church lands which Sir Arthur had on lease from the Primate, in the parish of Drumglass, went to Robert Chichester, a nephew of Sir Arthur. A later Inquisition taken at Augher, 3rd September, 1632, sets out the Robert Chichester mentioned in the previous Inquisition, died four years ago, and that his son and heir, John Chichester, was 7 years old and unmarried. He must have died fairly early in life, or been slain in the rebellion of 1641, as in the Down Survey (Stowe MSS.) a considerable amount of church lands are returned as in the hands of the executors of John Chichester, Esq., English Protestant, lessee in 1641. These lands were in the parish of Drumglass, and held on lease from the Primate for sixty years from 6th November, 1615, at £40 yearly rent, etc. Chichester had also from the Primate some ten town lands in the parish of Killyman. This branch claimed the whole of the Chichester estates, but did not succeed in ousting Edward Viscount Chichester.

Beyond the usual domestic incidents and the routine business of a thriving county and market town; Assizes and Quarter Session-

helped to vary the monotony, and it is interesting to find in "Summonister Roll," No. 36—Tyrone Quarter Sessions, 21st June, 1638, before Phelim O'Neile, esq., J.P., and the following year in "Summonister Roll," No. 39, Tyrone Quarter Sessions, 15th October, 1639, before Sir Phelim O'Neil, knt., J.P. This gives approximately the date when this notable personage received his title, which has been a mystery hitherto.

John Cornwall who was living in Dungannon in 1614, was Provost in 1640, and also a Justice of the Peace, as we find him officiating along with Sir Phelim O'Neill at the Quarter Sessions. In 1641 he is returned as having a lease from the Primate of 241 acres in Dungannon barony, as well as the freehold lands of "Cornwall's Grove," also in Dungannon barony: He left two sons by different wives. The eldest, Rev. Gabriel Cornwall, was a Commonwealth minister of Ballywillin, outside Coleraine, and when ejected in 1660, became Presbyterian minister of Ballywillin and Bushmills. He married a sister of William Hamilton of Lough Currin, and later of Caledon, and by her had with other issue two sons, both Presbyterian ministers in the Clogher Valley, County Tyrone, whose descendants lived in County Longford, and owned the Archbishop's lease. The youngest son, Edward, inherited "Cornwall's Grove," and was the ancestor of the family of Cornwall of 'Cornwall's Grove.'

Dungannon was now on the eve of more exciting and bloody events, as on Friday, 22nd October, 1641, about six o'clock at night, Patrick Modder O'Donnelly, his brother, Priest O'Skeaghe, and another of the Donnelly's went to the Castle of Dungannon and applied to the Governor, Captain John Perkins, who was a Justice of the Peace, for a warrant to search for some sheep which they alleged had been stolen. Having no suspicion of what was afoot they were admitted, and as Captain Perkins was about to write out the warrant one of the four went to the gate and admitted Randal M'Donnell and 18 men with him, who, rushing into the hall with skeans drawn, arrested Captain Perkins as they said, in the name of the Parliament. They then took possession of all the arms, goods, and live stock in the possession of the Captain, to the value according to his account of £1,500.

Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was at the same time engaged in the capture of Charlemont, arrived about midnight in Dungannon, from which he took Captain Perkins' horses and proceeded to Mountjoy, which had been captured by Captain Turlogh Grome (grim) O'Quin. After paying a flying visit to Mountjoy, Sir Phelim returned to Dungannon, where he was joined by many confederates and followers.

The rebels were highly elated with their success, as at one boldly executed coup the greater part of the north, strongholds in-

cluded, was in the hands of the Irish. The English and Scottish inhabitants of Dungannon, filled with apprehension, as well they might be, for their lives and properties, agreed to a levy of £1,000 upon the Lordship of Dungannon in consideration of being protected under the charge and care of Captain Perkins. This promise was not kept, as Sir Phelim afterwards committed Captain Perkins and John Allen, Provost of Dungannon, to the charge of Nicholas Combe to be kept close prisoners for a week.

This Nicholas Combe was seneschal of the manor of Dungannon, and was himself a prisoner in the town (but not in the castle). In the longer of his two depositions he states that Randolph M'Donnell was Governor of the town, his son as captain commanding under him.

There came orders from Sir Phelim O'Neill to put all the English out of Dungannon and convoy them to Dundalk, but about one mile from the town, on the highway towards Charlemont, at Gortmerron, a number of men were murdered and all the women stript. The most noteworthy of those killed was Mr. Roger Blythe, minister of Dungannon, who had a special protection from Sir Phelim O'Neill. Mr. Blythe in addition to his clerical avocation was a J.P., and it is quite on the cards that some of the Irish who may have thought themselves ill-treated by him when on the magisterial bench may have taken the opportunity for paying off old scores.

On the other hand we find instances of persons protected for their usefulness; Captain John Perkins, who, in a Summorister Roll of 1640, is curiously described as "superior of Dungannon," was not only protected, although threatened to be hanged several times, but was offered by Sir Phelim on behalf of the Supreme Council of Ireland, the post of Master of the Ordnance, and that he should have command of 1,000 foot and 100 horse, and £3 a day, which offer he refused. Another similar case of an inhabitant of Dungannon was that of Hugh Jones, carpenter, who was kept alive to make a drawbridge at Dungannon, but who does not mention how he finally escaped.

All this turmoil and bloodshed was not without its portents, and a little before the insurrection began it was reported that there was a vision seen of a woman walking round the town with a spear in her hand. When they would approach her she would go away from them, and when any would go away from her she would draw near to them. This vision also, they say, appeared before Tyrone's former rebellion.

The first Sunday in Lent, 1642 (N.S.), according to "Friar O'Mellan's Narrative of the Wars of 1641," sermons were preached in various places in Armagh and Tyrone—"One by Fr. Johannes a Sancto Patrico in the Court-house of Dungannon. Part of the loft

fell under them ; some persons were killed, and others had their bones broken." This passing notice by Friar O'Mellan of the accident is confirmed by George Burne, of Dungannon, in his deposition. He was present at the service and gives the following account :— " About the first or second week of Lent next after the said rebellion began, this deponent and many other of the English Protestants that were restrained from going away, were all forced to go into the Sessions House at Dungannon amongst a multitude of the Irish rebels, when and where they were constrained to hear a sermon preached by an Irish Friar who took his text out of the story of Judith how she cut off Holofernes head. Relating how she, by fasting and prayer, prevailed so that she had liberty to cut off his head, and even as he was about to express how and in what manner she did it, that part of the floor of the upper chamber where they were, fell down with a great number of the rebels, many whereof were then and there slain by the fall and others so bruised that they died quickly after. Howbeit the mercy and providence of God were such that neither this deponent nor any of the English (then forced thither) received any hurt at all, nor fell down with the rest. And the Friar that preached, catching hold of a rail that was nailed close to the wall, hung there by the arms, and with much difficulty escaped."

These depositions show that while a considerable number of Protestants were slain in Dungannon and its vicinity, there were many still left in the town in the spring of 1642, as well as those who had succeeded in making their way to places held by the English and Scots. According to Colonel Audley Mervyn's " An Exact Relation, etc.," (London, 1642), Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart had shortly after the outbreak of the rebellion embodied a force of about 1,000 men in the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, afterwards known by the name of the " Lagan Forces." With these they garrisoned the castles of Newtownstewart and Omagh. To the former of these places the inhabitants of the barony of Dungannon marched under the command of Sir Thomas Staples and Colonel Saunderson, and were well entertained for two or three days, but news of Augher being besieged reaching the Stewarts they were sent to its relief, being 600 in number, but contrary to the persuasions of the Lieut-Colonel and the High Sheriff, Captain Maxwell, they were divided by one Master William Stewart, who was a man of very good parts, but unfortunately lacking in judgment, and one part sent to Dungannon, then in the hands of the Irish, " where the greatest part of them were slain, without the satisfaction of one rebel's drop of blood in requital for their's." The remainder left at Augher under Lieut.-Colonel Saunderson, were obliged by Sir Phelim O'Neill to retreat to Omagh and so to Newtownstewart,

when the town of Augher was burnt by O'Neill's forces but the castle held out.

The 16th June, 1642, the Scots and English forces under the command of Major General Munro and Lord Montgomery assembled at Lisburn, from whence they marched in the direction of Armagh and Charlemont, where Sir Phelim O'Neill was, but were unable to make any impression on the fort. As a measure of precaution Sir Phelim ordered Castlecaulfield to be burned, and the outskirts of Dungannon as well, which was executed by Randall M'Donnell. At the same time Captain Richard Codan [? Cowan] was placed in the garrison of Dungannon. The next day being Wednesday a messenger came very early from Sir William Brownlow, who was a prisoner with the rebels, saying that seeing the British tents five miles from them at Charlemont, they resolved to strike a blow for their freedom, accordingly he and Lieut. Martin and some others there with the help of some Irish that were friendly to them seized the Captain and became masters of the fort, whereupon Lord Montgomery with all the horse and most of the musketeers marched immediately to Dungannon with great care and wariness, lest the letter should have been forced from Sir William to be used as a trap. However, on their arrival they found that it was genuine, so upon debate it was resolved to leave a garrison of 100 men under Captain Theophilus Jones, of Lord Conway's regiment, and to hang the former Captain and his men. O'Mellan makes no mention of the garrison being hanged, but states:—"They took Captain Cowan to Lord Conway and he was hanged, together with his son and a Dominican Friar." From the foregoing it would seem as if Captain Cowan had formerly been in the English army and had gone over to the Irish. If this surmise be correct it would account for him superseding Captain Randal M'Donnell in the command of Dungannon on account of his greater military experience. The English commander hearing that Lady Blaney was kept in the woods about four miles from Monaghan, sent all his horse thither, but the Irish had removed the lady farther into the woods the night before, however, they captured some 1,500 cows and many mares and relieved many prisoners. The horse marched back to Charlemont and arrived there safe at night, after a march of nearly sixty miles in two days and a night.

In the fort of Dungannon they found a brass cannon carrying a ball of four or five pounds, which Lord Montgomery brought back to Charlemont, using one of Sir Phelim's teams which had been taken at Caledon, and with it fired three shots with but little harm to the castle.

The next day Captain Rawdon was sent with a party of horse back to Dungannon, with ammunition and 100 cows and as much

provision of corn and meal as could be gotten in the houses and creaghts thereabout.

The army being short of both victuals and ammunition was obliged to break up camp and return home. The force left in Dungannon consisted of 20 horse and 80 foot, and the morning the army marched from Charlemont, Captain Randal M'Donnell was killed in a skirmish near Dungannon by the Corporal who commanded the troop of horse.

CHAPTER XV.

1642—1674.

Sir Phelim O'Neill recaptures Dungannon only to lose it; battle at Benburb; Arthur Chichester created Earl of Donegall; Coote at Dungannon.

Sir Phelim O'Neill did not sit down tamely under the loss of Dungannon but on St. Augustine's day (28th August, 1642) sent five Captains to besiege it, which indicates a force of about 500 men. They captured upwards of 100 cows, which most likely were the self-same cows that were delivered to the garrison by Captain Rawdon from the spoil gathered in County Monaghan, so that the Irish had their own back again. "Trenches were made round the castle and an excavation was made which was brought under the castle with the result that Captain Jones capitulated on the condition that he and his men were allowed to retain their arms and march to Mountjoy. The British Officer thus briefly notices this event:—"This year in October, Dungannon was besieged by the Irish for five weeks, and given up by Captain Jones with honour." Viscount Montgomery must have been in error, when in a petition to the Cromwellian government about October, 1658, in enumerating the services of his father, he stated that he "made a march on Dungannon in September, 1642, which saved the garrison of 300 men from the rebels. In this march he contracted the illness from which he died." It is more likely that it was brought on by the severe march into County Monaghan.

In 1643 the Scots army and the English forces under Parliamentary control, were acting in conjunction in Ulster. Towards the end of June, Major General Robert Monroe, with a strong force, crossed the Bann, and with Colonel Owen O'Connolly as their guide, proceeded through Tyrone as far as Carnteel, burning Castletown Bawn, the residence of Turlough O'Neill, which was near at hand, and from whence they marched to Ballydonnelly (Castlecaulfield), capturing the island there. They then proceeded to Dungannon,

which they reached 3rd July, 1643, and demanded the surrender of the castle which was refused. Next day the soldiers set on fire the town, and again demanded a surrender. The following day (4th July) a large force under Colonel George Munroe, Lord Chichester, Lord Montgomery, etc., crossed the Blackwater to Dungannon, and encamped at Gortmerron. In view of the great force by which they were now surrounded, the garrison were seized with fear and surrendered on receiving liberty to carry away their arms and movable effects. Thus as the game stood honours were even. This recovery of Dungannon by the British took place 7th July, 1643, and a Scotch garrison was placed in the town, but through extreme want by the end of the year Monro was compelled to withdraw the garrisons from the different strongholds which he occupied, including Dungannon and Mountjoy. These places were then garrisoned by Lord Chichester, who as owner of the manor would be largely interested in Dungannon. However, the Royalists were unable to hold it, and on 30th May, 1644, it was delivered once more to Sir Phelim O'Neill, who immediately placed a garrison there. The Irish tenure was not of long duration, as in June a message came to Sir Phelim desiring him to leave Charlemont and join the army. Possibly not having men to leave behind when he was called out on active service he burnt the town. This is O'Mellan's quaint record:—

"On St. John's Eve, 1602, O'Neill burnt Dungannon at the hour of retiring to bed.

"On St. John's Eve (23rd June) 1644, Sir Felim burnt it at the same hour."

After the number of times that Dungannon has been recorded as burnt, it must have been in the black books of the insurance companies of that era, but after the more permanent English built houses had been destroyed in the early stages of the war, the houses would have been Irish cabins which were easily destroyed and as easily replaced.

Sir Phelim returned to Charlemont at the end of May, 1645, with 150 men, and authority from the Council of Kilkenny to place garrisons in Dungannon and Mountjoy, but whether these instructions were carried out or the places left direlict we have no information.

In the spring of 1646 Owen Roe was supplied with money and given power to levy a new army of northern men, by the authority of the Nuncio and Supreme Council, then sitting at Kilkenny. By the end of May, O'Neill found himself at the head of an army 5,000 strong, of which there were 500 horse, such as they were, as Colonel Henry MacTully O'Neill puts it. With these he proceeded to Benburb, in order to divert General Monro, and his army from marching

into Leinster and Munster. Monro on learning of O'Neill's presence at Benburb, immediately hastened his march thither in order to crush him, and at the same time provide for the safety of the contingent from Coleraine under Colonel George Monro, with whom he had appointed a rendezvous at Glaslough on 5th June, 1646. Owen Roe was also aware of the approach of the Coleraine troops, and early in the morning sent out four troops of horse, with orders to proceed in the direction of Dungannon, to attack and beat back this force.

George Monro was a prudent and skilful commander, and on observing the Irish horse approaching, posted his men so advantageously in the hedges that the Irish force could do them no harm until such times as his foot, which they had outmarched, should come up, they then retreated without loss, while the Irish horse hearing the sound of cannon at Drumflugh, returned in hot haste to Benburb, all in a sweat, horses and men. On their arrival at the battlefield, Monro took them to be the expected Lagan horse, but the cheer sent up by the Irish army undeceived him, and they were in time to take part in the final charge that made the battle of Benburb the most crushing defeat inflicted on the English and Scots during the war.

The Chichesters, like most of the northern nobility, were royalists, and when General Robert Monro, on 14th May, 1644, seized Belfast on behalf of the Scottish Estates and English Parliament, Colonel Arthur Chichester, son of Edward, Viscount Chichester, left the town and joined Ormonde in Dublin, where his activity in the royalist cause was such that King Charles I. created him Earl of Donegall, in 1647, during the lifetime of his father, who died in 1648. John Chichester, of Dungannon, already mentioned, left a son, also named Arthur Chichester, who appears also as an active royalist and upholder of the Cessation arranged between Ormonde and the Irish Supreme Council. There is an undated letter of the year 1644 (Ormonde MSS. N.S.I. 78) to Colonel Mathew (Ormonde's half-brother) in which he says "Martin is committed to the Marshalsea [prison] by the Committee of War, and I fear it will go hard with him if Owen Roe do not re-deliver Dungannon to whom my Lord Lieutenant shall appoint." From this it would appear as if Owen Roe had placed a garrison in Dungannon some time after Sir Phelim abandoned and burnt the town. Sir Arthur Chichester was M.P. for Dungannon in 1661, and became second Earl of Donegall on the death of his uncle at Belfast in March, 1674.

Dungannon after the battle of Benburb ceased to figure in the war. It lay desolate and ruined with a few of the native inhabitants creeping timorously back to the ruins of their old homes, and

so remained, with but a single warlike flicker until peace was established under the Protectorate.

After the death of Owen Roe, Ever MacMahon, was on 8th March, 1650, elected General in his place. On the 14th April, Coote having collected his Lagan army, sent orders to Colonel Venables to take the field and join him before Charlemont with a view to taking that fort. The Bishop-General resolving to forestall this move, gave orders for his army to assemble at Rillacorron, near Monaghan, with twenty-four days provisions, while in order to provide a diversion he despatched a party who surprised and captured the fort of Toome; then having repaired its fortifications he pushed forward a considerable body of horse and foot to annoy the English at Antrim. This manoeuvre had its effect and Venables was obliged to return to protect his quarters in the county Antrim, and to invest Toome which held out for eight or ten days. Coote in the meantime had marched from Derry "by the Lough-side into Tyrone," where he was engaged by detachments of several Irish regiments, which also provided a diversion to prevent these troops going to assist in besieging the Irish garrison at Toome. After that fort was taken Coote posted himself at Dungannon but his supplies being cut off by the Irish, he was forced to retire with the main body of his army to Omagh, leaving a couple of regiments of horse to watch the motions of the Irish army, then lying securely encamped at Annaghsamery, near Charlemont. From thence the Bishop's army marched by county Londonderry to Donegal, only to be practically annihilated at Scariffhollis, memorable as the last battle which occurred in Ulster till the wars of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XVI.

1674—1690.

Dungannon charter called in; regiment raised in Dungannon and neighbourhood; Mackenzie's account of Dungannon garrison; King James's army retreats from Derry via Dungannon.

The reigns of Charles II. and of his successor, James II. up till 1688, are barren in so far as the historian of Dungannon is concerned. True, the disarming of the militia, and the Romanising of the army and the bench, must have created alarm in the town and neighbourhood as elsewhere. Dungannon, like other corporations of recent origin, had been the creation of the colonists, and had always been in Protestant hands, and the Government's next step was to call in the charters of these cities and boroughs, so that

they might be remodelled in such a way as to place them completely at the mercy of the Lord Lieutenant, who was empowered to issue new charters appointing the officers and members of all municipalities by name, with power to fill up vacancies and return two members to Parliament.

The first corporation in Ulster to be reconstructed in this arbitrary manner was Dungannon, its municipal officers being appointed 22nd March, 1688. In the month of August, Strabane and Derry, in the following month Newry, and in October, Armagh and Belfast, were transferred to Roman Catholic control. The names of Dungannon's new corporation were as follows:—

Terence Donnelly, Esq., Provost.

Burgesses 12.

John O'Neill, Esq., Patrick Donnelly, Thomas Morris, John Donnelly, John Clements, Hugh O'Quinn, Neal O'Donnelly, Robert Walker, Henry Donnelly, Charles O'Hagan, Thomas Corbett, Daniel O'Madden.

The Terence O'Donnelly who was High Sheriff of Tyrone, for the year 1687, was presumably the same person as the Provost of Dungannon for the following year. According to King ("State of the Protestants of Ireland, etc.") "he had not one foot of freehold," and then goes on to relate a story of the theft of bullocks by his son from Mr. Hamilton, of Caledon, which the writer has already given in his "History of Minterburn and Caledon." Regarding the Archbishop's charge of not possessing one foot of freehold, O'Donnelly had a very obvious and ready answer, that as a native his patrimony had been filched from him by the settlers.

The arbitrary conduct of James II. and Tirconnell caused consternation amongst the Protestants, great numbers of whom fled to England, where many of them were in a state of destitution, and in a "List of Money distributed at Chester in 1689 to distressed Protestants of Ireland," occurs the name of "John Holt, Dungannon, weaver, 15/- in July."

The successful landing of William, Prince of Orange, in England, in November, 1688, encouraged the Protestants of Ulster to concert together measures for their defence, one of which was the raising of a regiment in the district around Dungannon, under the auspices of Lord Charlemont, Captain Chichester being designed for Lieut.-Colonel, but afterwards made Colonel of it, having for his major, Rev. George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore, who afterwards became Colonel, on the reorganization of the regiments in Derry, 19th April, 1689. In his ministerial capacity the reverend gentlemen occasionally officiated in Drumglass parish church.

The following interesting account of the armament of Lord Charlemont's regiment may be given. It occurs in a rare tract

bearing the sarcastic title :—" A View of the Danger and Folly of being Publick-spirited."

680 muskets	£680	0	0
340 pikes	85	0	0
1,000 swords and belts	306	0	0
30 halberts	9	0	0
15 pairs of colours	30	0	0
30 drums	9	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£1,119	0	0

The regiment consisted of fifteen companies. Each company had sixty men.

The firearms were evidently up to date, the muskets having the new flint and steel lock, although there were many of the old matchlocks, discharged by means of burning slow match, still in use in both armies. Another favourite weapon with those unable to procure firearms was a scythe fixed on a pole or handle —a most deadly weapon at close quarters, and the lineal successor of the old Irish battleaxe.

How Dungannon fared during the early months of 1689 may best be given in direct quotation from Mackenzie's " Narrative."

The Rev. John Mackenzie was Presbyterian minister of Cookstown, and acted as chaplain to Walker's regiment, or the Presbyterian portion of it at any rate, during the siege of Derry.

" Of the garrison of Dungannon I need only give this short relation : Dungannon in the county of Tirone, being in great danger from the Irish garrison of Charlemont, that had above thirty companies in it, the defence of it by a good garrison was thought necessary. And accordingly the counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, sent in several troops and companies by turn, which were maintained partly by the country and partly by their officers. About the 11th February the Irish gathered together in great numbers, near Stewartstown and Gleno. Colonel Stewart, Governor of the town, commanded a detached party of our men (about 24), some of Captain Stewart of Killymoon's troop, and some foot to go to view them, who killed some of the Irish and took thirteen or fourteen prisoners. Soon after a considerable party of the forces of Charlemont joined with the Irish of the country near Benburb. A party of our men, both horse and foot beat them off, and took a prey of cattle from them, as they did several [times] afterwards. Colonel Lundy about the 14th March sent his orders to Colonel Stewart, to quit the town which accordingly he did, though against the opinion of most of the officers. Nor was there any care taken to carry off that great quantity of provisions which the country had sent in, so that they fell into the enemy's hands. About the 16th or 17th

March, some of the garrison marched towards Coleraine, others towards Derry, as Mr. Walker and his company, etc. The 11th, a party of our men, beat off a party of the Irish who had taken up the pass at Toome."

Regarding the state of affairs in and around Dungannon we gather a few additional details from Harris (*Life of William III.*).

At this time Gordon O'Neill, son of Sir Phelim, of 1641 fame, was governor of Charlemont, observing these preparations, i.e., the garrisoning and provisioning of the town, sent his chaplain to enquire into their meaning, who was plainly answered, "that so many Irish were armed in the country, that they thought fit to put themselves in a posture of defence against the dangers they saw themselves exposed to." The Rev. George Walker rode to Derry to consult Colonel Lundy regarding the Protestants' arrangement for their defence. He approved of their design of holding Dungannon as a check on the Jacobite garrison of Charlemont, and sent two files of his disciplined men to the town, and soon after two troops of dragoons, but as already detailed in Mackenzie's "Narrative," Lundy came out in his true colours and caused the garrison to be evacuated. This piece of strategy on Lundy's part materially aided King James's army, who took advantage of the free communication thus opened between Derry and Dublin, when Dungannon fell into their hands.

Mackenzie records that about 2 o'clock in the morning of Sunday, 7th April (1689) the garrison of Derry had notice that Lord Galmoy, Colonel Gordon O'Neill, and Colonel MacMahon, were come to Dungannon with 3,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, in order to surprise the garrison of Moneymore and Sir Arthur Rawdon was desired to hasten thither. This gentleman was then known by the name of "Cock of the North," because of his boldness and great forwardness in carrying on the Protestant Association. (Leslie: Answer to King.)

The Williamite party had established a line of communication and defence along the entire course of the lower Bann, and it was to strengthen this line that Rawdon was hurried on the scene, as Lieut. General Richard Hamilton with an Irish force, encamped at Ballymoney, and now Galmoy with another force, was advancing from Tyrone, both armies having Derry for their objective. On Sunday, the 7th April (1689) a body of Hamilton's men succeeded in crossing the Bann, about a mile below Portglenone, thus cutting the Protestant line and obliging the defenders to make a hurried retreat to Londonderry, whose memorable siege dates from the 18th April, 1689.

While the movements and operations narrated were in progress Dungannon proved a very convenient halting-place for King James's

troops, and in the letters and despatches of Jean Antoine de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux, who was the French Ambassador in attendance upon James II., during his campaign in Ireland, we get many interesting glimpses of Dungannon as seen by French eyes. There is an interesting letter from the Ambassador to King Louis from Charlemont, in which he states that "The King of England set out yesterday from Armagh, and came to this place where he is safer, the castle being in the middle of a little fort which cannot be easily taken. Mons. Rose, Mons de Maumont and Mons. Lery set out from Armagh with him, but they went to stay the night at Dungannon, which is four miles from here. They ought to find there two companies of cavalry, and one of dragoons, and a regiment of infantry, with whom they will march as far as Omagh which is eighteen miles from there, then they will go to Strabane and from there to Londonderry."

King James, who arrived in Dublin towards the end of March, 1689, set out for the North on the 8th April, 1689, at the head of 12,000 men and a considerable train of artillery. On the following day he arrived at Armagh and from thence proceeded to Charlemont, where he arrived on the 12th and probably proceeded to Dungannon on the following day. Tradition has it that he stopped overnight in Dungannon, and on continuing his journey towards Omagh paused to drink from a roadside spring in the townland of Altmore, at Mr. Shields' lands which has since been known as "King James's Well." To mark the site of this spring, the overflow of which passes into the Dungannon Waterworks catchment area, the Dungannon Urban Council has erected a neat cement fountain with the date "1689" engraved on it. This well is close to the ruins of the old barracks erected in the seventeenth century to house the soldiers engaged in restraining the activities of the notorious robber Shan Bernagh and his confederates. Indeed Mullaghcarn mountain where Shan Bernagh made his final stand and was killed, can be seen from this spot. A short distance from the well is a ridge where on that windy April day King James lost his hat which was blown into the adjacent swamp. The place is still called "King James's Hat," in the equivalent Gaelic vernacular.

De Avaux writing from Omagh to Louvois, says—"the King of England set out yesterday (12th April) from Charlemont, passed through Dungannon and came here this evening: this journey was twenty-three miles. [In] this part of Ireland the miles are equivalent to the leagues of France [French league, $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles]. All the equipages made the same journey."

King James had already been preceded in Dungannon by Brigadier-General Pusignan, who had gone thither with reinforcements for Hamilton, and from which he wrote to D'Avaux. This

letter giving a striking picture of the state of affairs prevailing in the Irish army is printed in Appendix III.

At Dungannon James himself saw a regiment in which not a hundred muskets were fit to fire. He reached Omagh on the 13th April, 1689, but throughout the entire Irish campaign, showed a proper regard for his own safety, and some shots fired by his own men leading him to fear an attack, he hastily returned to Charlemont on April 16th, which he left on the following day arriving before Londonderry on the 18th, but that stiff-necked Protestant city showing no respect for royalty, James retired from the camp before Derry on 29th April, and returned to meet his memorable Parliament at Dublin.

While Londonderry was closely invested the Enniskilleners adopted the policy of attacking any enemy long before they approached the town. Thus some of their horse out on a scouting expedition, captured five prisoners on the road leading from Dungannon to Omagh, who on being examined, informed them that they belonged to Lord Clancarty who lay at Dungannon the night before upon his march with two Regiments of Foot, one of Horse, and one of Dragoons, to reinforce the camp before Derry, and that he would be at Omagh by three o'clock in the afternoon. However, no reinforcements that King James could send were able to overcome the resistance of the heroic city, and when it was tardily relieved by Kirke, all hope of its capture was at an end. For two days after the Irish continued to fire, but on the night of July 31, 1689, they set fire to their camp and turned their faces towards the south. On the retreat of the besiegers from Londonderry the rearguard of French cavalry passed through Castlecaulfield on their way to Dungannon, some three miles distant. The old narrow road which they traversed at Castlecaulfield is still called "The Frenchman's Lane." A party of Enniskillen horse who had scouted as far as Castlecaulfield on that day actually viewed the rearguard of King James's retreating army, but from their paucity of numbers and the tired condition of their horses, were unable to do any execution on the retiring force.

After the retreat of the army from before the walls of Derry the only military post held by the Jacobites in the north was Charlemont Fort.

In the autumn of 1689 Schomberg found it necessary to lodge a force in the vicinity of Charlemont to stop the enemy's incursions, but a party of the Irish garrison in that fort stole out one night towards the end of November and burnt Dungannon. However some of the buildings were evidently made habitable, as Colonel La Caillimote's regiment was stationed in Dungannon and Mountjoy during the winter. Charlemont fort surrendered to Schomberg

on 13th May, 1690, after a most gallant resistance, and the Williamite troops withdrew from the north leaving Dungannon to civilian activities once more.

CHAPTER XVII.

1690—1787.

Thomas Knox purchases Dungannon ; leases plot of ground for military barracks ; Dungannon ceases to be the county seat ; leases and rentals ; dragoons wreck a house ; John Wesley's visits to Dungannon.

Dungannon had been a centre of military activity in the time of the O'Neills, as well as in later years under the Stuarts, but with the change of dynasty its usefulness as a military centre passed away. The town must have been lying in ruins at the close of the Revolution, but we have no information regarding its rebuilding. Doubtless such of its inhabitants as had managed to tide over the troublous times made shift to rebuild their ruined homes, and for those that would return no more new settlers would be found to take their places.

The town and adjacent district must have recuperated fairly quickly, as when Thomas Knox purchased the estate shortly after the war it was said to be worth £1,000 per annum. The new owner of Dungannon town and manor was a Scotsman of good family who had settled in Belfast prior to the year 1669, as it is recorded in the "Town Book" of Belfast:—

"1669. Thomas Knox, merchant, Admitted and sworne a free Commoner and merchant of the Staple."

On 27th August, 1680 he was elected a free Burgess of the Corporation of Belfast, in the place of Gilbert Wye, who had resigned. This Gilbert Wye was Stewart to the Earl of Donegall, and pressure had been brought to bear upon him to induce him to resign in favour of Mr. Knox which caused dissatisfaction on the part of some of the Burgesses, as George Macartney, the Sovereign, has noted in the old town Book.

Thomas Knox, himself, was duly elected and served as Sovereign of Belfast, for the year ending Michaelmas 1686. We next find him in 1692 purchasing from Lord Donegall his manor of Dungannon. In the same year (1692) he was returned as Member of Parliament for Newtownards, on 26th September, when he is described as "of Dungannon." In 1695 he changed to his own borough of Dungannon. Evidently his large business interests in

Belfast did not permit his removing immediately to his new estate, as his letter resigning his Burgess-ship is dated 17th October, 1697, in which he says "I have now changed my place of residence and removed from Belfast to Dungannon, where I cannot be so useful nor serviceable to the Corporation as my inclinations do lead me, etc."

On 29th September, 1699, Thomas Knox leased to the King for 140 years a plot of ground for the site of a military barracks in Dungannon, at a rent of 20/- per annum. The plot of ground so leased was situated at the lower end of the town near the mill race.

Dungannon from the time of the Plantation had been the county town of Tyrone, but either towards the close of the seventeenth, or early in the eighteenth century the county seat was transferred to Omagh. The earliest mention of Omagh in this respect that the writer has been able to trace occurs in the "Journey to Ye North," by Dr. Thomas Molyneux, who writes under date of 7th August, 1708:—"We left Strabane, two hours brought us to Newtown-Stewart, a small village belonging to Lord Mountjoy, through a very woody country to Omagh, which is but a small ordinary Town for the County Town of Tyrone."

The theory has been put forward that the county seat was transferred to Omagh to suit the convenience of the Judges of Assize going the north-west circuit, but owing to the destruction of the public records this cannot be verified, so the matter stands at present.

On July 11, 1716, Thomas Knox wrote from Dungannon to an unnamed government official complaining of certain arms being detained by Henry Mervyn, late High Sheriff of Tyrone, and requesting that he should be ordered to hand them over.

The plot of ground already mentioned as leased for the site of a military barracks was evidently utilised, as we find by a "Return of Army Stations—Ireland, 13th April, 1716," One Troop Lieut. General Palmes's Dragoons, Dungannon Barracks. One Troop, Dungannon Town." (P.R.O.)

With reference to these gallant dragoons we find amongst the Presentments to the Grand Jury of County Tyrone for the year 1728, the following:—

"The officers of a dragoon regiment which was quartered at Dungannon, having quarrelled with an inhabitant of the town, drew out their soldiers, marched against his house, fired into it, broke it open and wrecked it, in spite of the remonstrance of the Provost of the Town." It is to be hoped that the culprits were properly dealt with, which is very doubtful.

Thomas Knox, upon the accession of the house of Hanover, was made a Privy Councillor, and declined a peerage, having no

male issue. At his death in 1728 his estate devolved upon his two daughters, Mary, who married the Right Hon. Oliver St. George, and Anne, who married Charles Echlin, of County Down, Esq. John Knox, his brother, had a family of several daughters and a son, Thomas, who succeeded to the Dungannon estate on the deaths of his cousins, Mrs. St. George, and Mrs. Echlin. He was M.P. for Dungannon from 1731 till his death in 1769.

The historical details to be gathered regarding Dungannon during the greater part of the eighteenth century are exceedingly scanty. In the "Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland (1835-36)" they state that the present records date from 1818, but that there was an older book which was not available, as Lord Ranfurly was abroad at the time. Owing to the break up of the Ranfurly residence at Dungannon, this older book if in existence, has not been available for the present history. The rentals and other documents connected with the Dungannon estate, now in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, occasionally afford us some information; thus on the 2nd May, 1740, there was a lease to William Whitsitt of "Tenements formerly possessed by William Christy and James Wilson, in Schoolhouse Lane. Tenements in Irish-street . . . also park on Gallows hill formerly possessed by James Dowdall, and now in possession of Captain Francis Nevil. The name "Gallows Hill" is a reminder of the days when the Assizes were held in Dungannon, and in those times when the theft of any article of the value of one shilling and upwards was punishable with death, hangings were plentiful.

The estimate of £1,000 per annum rental when Thomas Knox acquired the castle and manor of Dungannon from the Earl of Donegall, is borne out by the rental from May, 1744, to May, 1745, which amounted to £1580 16s 3d, showing a reasonable and natural increase arising from a continuance of peace and settled government. At this time the rent of Dungannon mills was £65 10s 0d, which was a large sum in those days, and shows that the mills must have been valuable. The miller, Charles Branan, had a free house. In this rental the ground previously leased to the Government for a barracks is referred to as "the horse barracks," showing that it must have been cavalry, or "horse," as they were then termed. This is confirmed by the notice of the outrageous conduct in 1728 of the officers and men of the dragoon regiment stationed at Dungannon.

The rental of 1744-5 also shows that Charles Echlin, Esq., was tenant of the Castle and demesne of Dungannon at a yearly rent of £23 14s 3d, which shows that the owners residence and grounds were not nearly so valuable as the Dungannon mills, unless upon the principle that "it is not lost that a friend gets," it may have been let under its current value. This quite possibly may have

been the case considering the close relationship between the parties.

Another entry of a lease dated 15th July, 1763, affords quite an interesting glimpse of the period. It is between Thomas Knox, Dungannon, and John Haddock, Covelush, parish of Clonfeacle, for three lives, of certain lands. Rent 6/8 per English acre, per annum, and 6d per £ receiver's fees, and three day's work of man and horse per annum.

On Thursday, 16th April, 1767, the great evangelist, John Wesley, records in his journal:—"About one I preached to a large congregation in Dungannon, in the County Tyrone, and in the evening before the great old house at Castlecaulfield. The Society here the first fruits of this county seems to be all alive."

Many years were to elapse before a Society was formed in Dungannon, and the difficulty experienced by any religious body outside the established church in getting ground whereon to erect a place for worship, not only in the town but elsewhere, is illustrated by a covenant in a lease drawn 8th December, 1767, in which the rent was £12 19s 6d, and one shilling per £ Receiver's fees, etc. An additional rent of £30 per annum, if any house built or to be built on the land to be used as Mass House or Meeting House. The lands for which the foregoing lease was granted were situated in the townland of Keenaghan, parish of Killyman. It is possible that this was Church land and that these terms were embodied in Mr. Knox's own lease. At anyrate, when the Seceders established a second congregation in Dungannon about the year 1882, Thomas Knox Hanyngton, Trustee for Viscount Northland, granted a lease for lives of the tenement known as the Poor House, with two plots of ground, one on either side at the yearly rent of £7 19s. 3d., and this rent was never charged or asked for. A memorandum was entered on the rent book stating that Lord Ranfurly has not hitherto charged rent for this tenement, nor is it his wish that any should be charged so long as it is held as a place of worship. It is also worthy of record that when the lease came to be renewed in 1822, and the congregation desired to acquire further adjoining ground for the purpose of enlarging their church and building a schoolhouse, etc., the present Earl of Ranfurly (Rt. Hon. Uchter John Mark) was equally generous.

In the years 1775 and 1776 John Wesley again preached in Dungannon, in the Market Place. Ten years after (1785) he was again in the town of the Volunteers, of which he gives this graphic little sketch:—"Although there has been preaching here for nearly twenty years no class has been formed, and there was no place for services except in the open air. The class conducted by Hercules Hall, of Castlecaulfield, met in the house of Michael Cross, of Irish-street.

Ungodly shoemakers in that locality prepared for his [Hall's] reception, not only with words but also with every kind of missile that came in their way."

Small wonder that the place was found unsuitable and the class removed to a new location that proved equally unsuitable, but at length they secured a room in the house of Dr. Temple in the Market Square, and here they were allowed to hold their class in peace.

Indefatigable in his journeyings to and fro, John Wesley visited Dungannon on 16th June, 1787, and gives us another lively sketch. He records his experience thus:—"I went on to Dungannon; but the town seemed to be in an uproar. One would have thought Bedlam had broke loose. The cause of this: a cock-fight was at hand. A gentleman asked the Presbyterian minister for the use of his meeting-house [now in Scotch Street] but he gave a reason for his denial, namely that Mr. Hall, one of the Society, had said that he played cards all night (which it seems was true), and therefore he could not allow him to come in to his meeting-house. So we removed all the benches out of our own and it contained most of the congregation. I preached there again in the evening, and held a love feast at which they were greatly comforted."

The minister who refused John Wesley the use of the meeting-house on account of the charge of card-playing made against him my Hercules Hall, of Castlecaulfield, was the Rev. William Stitt, M.A., who was installed in Dungannon, 1st September, 1777, and died in that charge 1st September, 1803. His refusal of the meeting-house was due not to bigotry or narrowmindedness, but to Hall's charge of card-playing, and he afterwards gave permission to Dr. Coke to preach in it. (See Crookshank's History of Methodism in Ireland.)

However the troubles of the Dungannon Methodists with regard to a place of meeting were nearly over, as after much effort the Society had the joy of seeing a chapel completed and opened for public worship towards the close of the month of August, 1787.